

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



Entrance to White House

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XUM

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Scriptural Basis: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." "The powers that be are ordained of God."

1. The Bible is the Word of God, and Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world.
2. The ten commandments are the foundation of all morality, and comprehend the whole duty of man, both to God and to man.
3. The religion of Jesus Christ, being founded in the love of God, needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love can not be forced.
4. It is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship, or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of that right he does not interfere with the equal rights of others.
5. Civil government is of divine origin, designed for the protection of men in the enjoyment of their natural rights. It is ordained to rule in civil things, and in this realm is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
6. The civil power is not authorized to enter the realm of religion, enacting legislation to define or to enforce any religious dogma, ritual, or observance. Coercion in matters of religion always means persecution.
7. All religious legislation on the part of the state, and all movements tending to unite church and state, are subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
8. It is proper, therefore, for all to protest against, and use every laudable and legitimate means to prevent, religious legislation, or the union of church and state, in order that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.
9. The warfare of modern science and modern theology upon the Word of God is a warfare upon the liberties of men, which are defined and guaranteed by that Word.
10. The liquor traffic is a curse to the home, to society, and to the nation, and a menace to civil order, and should be prohibited by law.

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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

W. W. PRESCOTT, Editor

C. M. SNOW, Associate Editor

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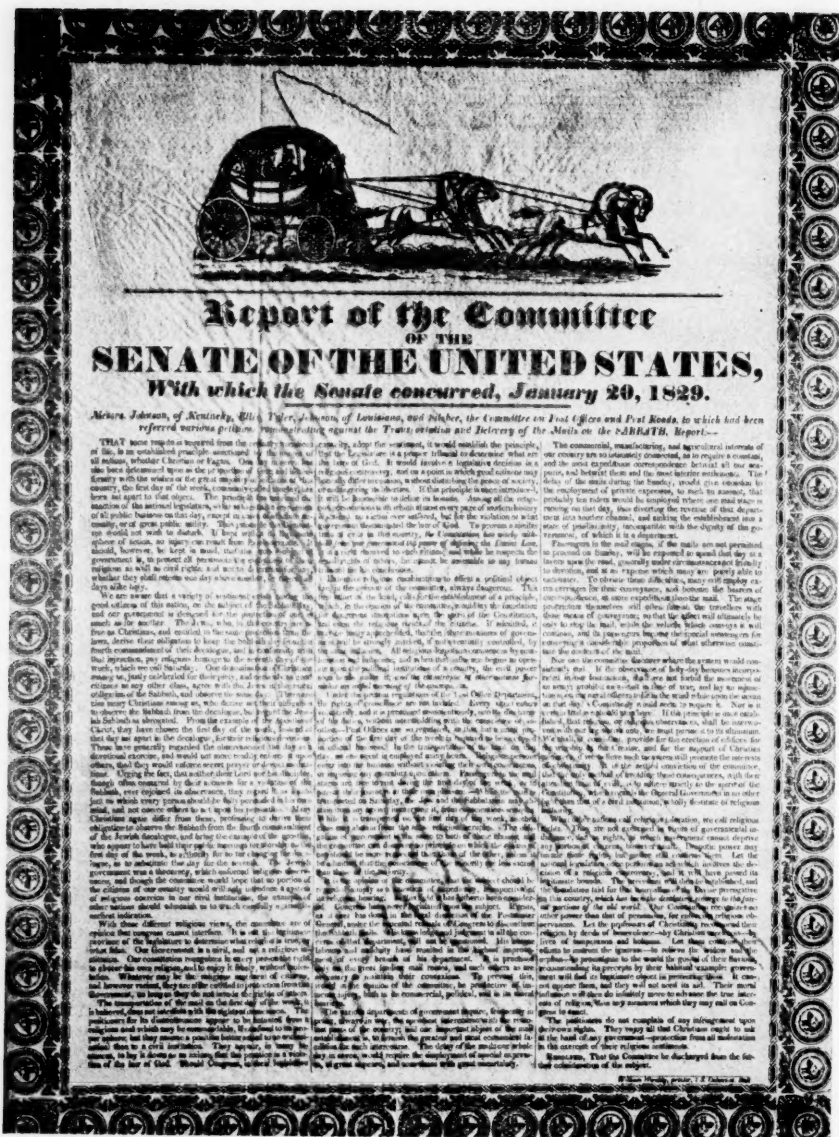
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A. J. S. BOURDEAU, Circulation Manager

XUM



THE SENATE REPORT ON SUNDAY MAILS

A photographic reproduction of the report printed on silk, preserved in the Post-office Department, Washington, D. C. See article "American Principles in the Balance," on page 165.

LIBERTY

*"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto
all the inhabitants thereof." L. v. 25: 10.*

VOL. VII

FOURTH QUARTER, 1912

No. 4

EDITORIAL

LIBERTY pure and simple, liberty freely conferred and sacredly respected,—this is the natural consequence of that "love which passeth knowledge."

PERU is a Roman Catholic country. Roman Catholicism is the state religion of Peru. The atrocities perpetrated in Putumayo, the rubber district of Peru, have aroused indignation both in the Old World and in the New. It is now seriously proposed that Protestants should contribute to the extension of Roman Catholic mission work in Peru on the ground that since Peru is a Roman Catholic country, a Protestant mission could accomplish nothing for the amelioration of the distress of the poor Indians. If we may credit the press despatches from Washington, it has even been suggested that the State Department should co-operate in establishing these papal missions. But if Roman Catholics believe in religious liberty, why should not Protestant missions be welcomed in Peru? Furthermore, it is not the business of the national government to conduct missions of any kind.

THE hearing before Hon. Walter L. Fisher, Secretary of the Interior, on the order of Commissioner Valentine forbidding the wearing of religious garb in Indian schools conducted by the government, is fast becoming a matter of ancient history, and yet no decision had been made public up to September 1. It was announced in the *Washington Post* of August 25 that Secretary Fisher had submitted his findings to President Taft; but if that was done, the public was not informed concerning the report. Meanwhile the order remains suspended, and its opponents are boasting of their success in having it "revoked." We shall probably be able to announce in our next issue the result of this hearing, as the election will be over by that time.

IF the Roman Catholic Church would confine its activities to the spiritual sphere instead of constantly intruding into the political field, we might never need to mention that great organization in the columns of this magazine. But when any ecclesiastical body enters the field of politics, and either attempts to

dictate to the state, or to use the state for the furtherance of its own ends, it may expect criticism and opposition from those who really believe in the actual separation between the church and the state. LIBERTY asks the Roman Catholic

Church and every other church to proclaim the gospel of the kingdom of God, just as Jesus did (Mark 1:14), and not to meddle with politics. Members of churches should act as citizens, but let us not seek to establish a theocracy.

The Survey of the Field

In the United States

It is not a little significant that in this century of boasted liberty, and in this country whose watchword is liberty, there should have been published recently by a noted man, R. Fulton Cutting, a book whose specific object is a union of church and state in the United States. Mr. Cutting is the founder of the Bureau of Municipal Research, and president of the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. Summed up in a sentence, Mr. Cutting finds that the social betterment of the race needs a closer union of church and state in this country than it has had since it became a republic. That he is speaking of such a union of church and state as obtained in the dark ages, is proved by such expressions as this: "In the middle ages the monasteries were the refuges to which flocked the poor, the suffering, the widow, and the orphan. In fact, all who were oppressed found within their walls a refuge. The church through her religious orders was the educator of society. In the monastic life indeed was the germ of modern democracy that was at length to find its opportunity in the organization of society consequent upon the teachings of Luther and Calvin. The church must Christianize civilization practically, and the civil authorities of the democratic state are the tools she has herself so aptly fashioned. She has tried criticising them, ignoring them, battling with them, trying to capture them. She has yet to try cooperation with them, recog-

nizing them as her agents, for the development of the citizenship which is in heaven." This proposition to turn the civilization of the present back to that of the dark ages, and to place the liberties of the people in the hands of a church-ruled state, is one of the boldest propositions yet put forward by the church-and-state element in this country. It would have been laughed out of court a few years ago; but the trend of the great religious organizations to-day is so strongly in that direction that the proposition excites little or no adverse comment. It is a sign of the times.

From various parts of the country have come reports of activity on the part of those who would enforce or make more rigid Sunday laws, and of prosecutions or attempted prosecutions of those who were charged with the violation of such laws. The Gaelic Association of Athletic Clubs has joined in the crusade for the rigid enforcement of every blue-law in the State of Connecticut. This is done, it is stated, with the object of making them so obnoxious to the people that they will ask for their repeal. Recently the marshal of Baltimore and his one thousand policemen gathered a harvest of names of those who had in any way violated the provisions of Maryland's drastic blue-laws. On the day in question one man, Abraham Robdell, was arrested for the outrageous crime of delivering bread on Sunday. There has been an attempt in the District of Columbia to make the law pro-

hibiting the opening of barber shops on Sunday in the Georgetown section of the District apply to the entire District of Columbia; but the commissioners have decided that the law can apply only to Georgetown. However, it is reported that the District of Columbia heads will prepare a bill for introduction into Congress, providing for the application of the Sunday-closing law for barbers to the entire District. Only for the fact that the town clock of Camden, N. J., struck the hour of midnight a little ahead of time, two poor fishermen would have had to pay fines of one hundred dollars each, and have had their boats and shad-nets confiscated. The game warden claimed that they began fishing four minutes before twelve o'clock on Sunday night. However, they were compelled to pay the cost of their own prosecution, even though the court held them innocent in the eyes of the law. So much for justice when the state assumes to enforce religious laws. The members of the Lutheran Church in Washington, the Interdenominational Missionary Union, and the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society have united in asking President Taft to prevent work on public buildings in Washington on Sunday. The barbers of Indianapolis are required to take out a license on the grounds of necessary sanitary precautions; now they have been ordered to close on Sunday, the argument being that the city has no right to license Sunday labor. There is prospect that the case may be taken to the Supreme Court. At Beaver Falls, Pa., an Italian grocer has been fined four dollars and costs for hauling sod on Sunday. He chose the alternative of spending six days in jail rather than paying the fine. On August 4 both houses of the Connecticut Legislature passed a bill repealing what are known as the Connecticut Sunday blue-laws. In Montgomery

County, Maryland, there has been unusual activity for several months on the part of the sheriff of the county in enforcing the Maryland blue-laws. The sheriff has announced it as his intention to enforce all the provisions of that relic of state-churchism. Some arrests have followed the activities of the sheriff. Similar activity has been manifested at Melrose, Mass., and great indignation has been expressed by the citizens who have been in the habit of doing a little gardening in their back yards on Sunday. Threats of arrest may drive these gardeners to church, but there is nothing in their present attitude which would indicate such a result. There has been a strong effort on the part of the church-and-state element in both Oregon and California to have the matter of Sunday legislation and Sunday enforcement come before the people for direct vote on the plan of legislation known as the initiative and referendum. Reports indicate that the effort will not succeed at the present time.

In Germany

In that portion of Germany which was taken from France during the war of 1870-71, Alsace-Lorraine, the authorities are enforcing upon the priests the requirement of joining in the maneuvers of the army. Priests who have protested and threatened to bring the matter before higher authorities, have been imprisoned. The German nation is now facing a most serious problem. Socialism is making rapid strides, and a continued increase of its progress would soon make it the dominant factor in German politics. Opposed to that progress stands Roman Catholicism; but Roman Catholicism also proposes to dominate German politics. The Center Party is the party of Romanism, and a portion of that party has been seeking to maintain its independence of Rome in political matters; but the Vatican has spoken, ma-

king its position emphatic. The Pope has made it known to the Center Party that he claims absolute supremacy in all questions. Before this dictum of the Pope all thought of resistance withered away immediately. The party is now entirely subject to the will of Rome in the political affairs of Germany. Says a despatch from Berlin: "The Holy Father is to-day admittedly the most powerful man in Germany." This does not agree very strikingly with the oft-repeated declaration that the Roman Catholic Church is not in politics.

In Japan

There has been considerable agitation, especially in the religious press of the past few weeks, in reference to the torture of Korean Christians by officials of the Japanese government, to force from them confessions in reference to the attempt on the life of the Japanese governor-general of Korea, Mr. Terauchi. While the Japanese deny any antichristian motives in the matter, the arrests and tortures have spread a feeling of terror among the Christian population of Korea. The *Japan Advertiser* of Tokio says that a movement has been projected in Japan for a "rapprochement between Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity, with a view to associating all three with national education," in order to "secure cooperation between the three religions themselves," and also to "secure cooperation between the three religions and the government," in the introduction of religious teaching in the public schools of the empire. The proposition emanates from the vice-minister of the home department of the government. If the teaching of religion in the public schools of the country is essential, then Japan has a proposition three times as advanced and wise as that which has been urged for several years in this country.

In England

A case has recently been decided in

England which is of interest in connection with the *Ne temere* decree of the Vatican. A Protestant man married a Catholic woman. After the birth of several children, the couple were divorced. The husband considered himself released from the promise made at the time of the marriage that all children should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. The matter was taken into court, and the court decided that "in England the father has the supreme right to control the religion of his children while minors, and that no private agreements in the matter are recognized by law." The *Sunday Guardian*, published in London, reports in each issue activities of the Sunday-enforcement element. It has been instrumental in stirring up certain organizations to declare on their own account for Sunday enforcement, and representative non-conformist organizations have been petitioning the government against the action of the war office "in encouraging territorial shooting on the Lord's day." In Newport, Monmouthshire, a movement is on foot to boycott the daily street-car service if the companies attempt to operate cars on Sundays. Sunday golf is also agitating the populace, and attempts to have the golf links opened for Sunday playing seem to be proving unsuccessful. The Imperial Sunday Alliance is putting forth strenuous efforts in every direction among the laboring element to secure absolute inactivity on Sunday. The Shops Bill, introduced by Mr. Herbert Gladstone, while having many excellent features regarding the comfort of employees, is marked by inequality and injustice when it touches the matter of religion. It requires that all shops be closed during the whole of Sunday, except that saloons and certain refreshment stands may be operated throughout the day, whereas the sale of bread, milk, and cream is prohibited after ten o'clock

in the morning. A man may sell that which will make a beast or a murderer or both of a man, at any time on Sunday, but if he sells a cup of milk or a loaf of bread after ten in the morning it is a criminal offense. Such injustice and inconsistency is always seen wherever the government interferes with religious concerns.

In Spain

At a meeting of the cabinet presided over by King Alfonso, Premier Canalejas demanded that the government inaugurate its religious program by the recognition of absolute freedom of conscience through the abrogation of all imperial decrees prohibiting the public services of non-Catholics. Following this demand a decree was issued amending the constitution so that non-Catholic religious societies may display the insignia of public worship on their edifices. The press is demanding the absolute equality of all religions, and that the state subvention of the Catholic religion be withdrawn.

C. M. S.

The Inconsistencies and Absurdities of Religious Legislation

THOSE who desire to see upon the statute-books of every State in the Union such a law as would require the outward observance of Sunday, have seemed to take it much to heart that there is no Sunday law in the State of California. After several fruitless efforts to secure the enactment of such a law by the legislature, the advocates of this kind of legislation attempted to make use of the initiative in order to submit directly to the legislators next November the question of a weekly rest-day law. About thirty-one thousand signers to the petition were required in order to place the measure upon the ballot, but not half this number were secured by August 7, the last day allowed for such work. The proposed measure will, therefore, be laid over for at least two years.

In order to acquaint our readers with the general character of this proposed Sunday law, and with the difficulties which are encountered when the authority of the State is sought in behalf of a matter wholly outside of its jurisdiction, we print herewith the main provision of the proposed law, together with some comments upon the large list of exemptions:—

Every person, firm, association, or corporation that on Sunday keeps open any shop, store, office, building, or any place of business, whether for the purpose of carrying on or transacting any business or common labor; or that buys, or sells, or offers for sale, or advertises any goods, wares, merchandise, property, or other thing prohibited by this act; or that for gain hires or employs, or causes any employee, apprentice, servant, or other person to work at, or to engage in any trade, business, occupation, or ordinary calling on Sunday, except works of necessity, mercy, or charity, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in the county jail not to exceed thirty days, and, upon each subsequent conviction, both said fine and imprisonment shall be imposed; except, however, in case of corporations, the imprisonment, when imposed, shall be imposed upon all officers or agents thereof in this State committing such offense, or causing the same to be committed.

From a leaflet prepared by W. M. Healey, and circulated largely in California during the petition campaign, we take the following paragraphs relating to the numerous exemptions to the proposed act:—

While the measure that has been

framed purports to secure for the greatest possible number the privilege of a weekly rest day, yet the enactment of such a law is fraught with consequences so far-reaching that its authors have been obliged to make, under twenty-two different clauses, over one hundred exemptions; many of them for large classes of labor, and including nearly every kind of work, making the number exempted greater apparently than the number to whom the law would apply. Each and every one of these exemptions is an unanswerable argument and objection to such a law; for if the arguments could have been answered and the objections removed, the exemptions would not have been made.

By natural and legal right the few cases not exempted are entitled to the same privileges as those exempted; and in not granting these privileges to all alike, is not the proposed measure unjust, and opposed to the principle of equal rights?

Under clause "o" exemption is made for "vessels" to carry on their regular business on Sunday; but a man is made a criminal if he earns a few cents with his sail or rowboat in his own private business.

Railroad companies are allowed to run trains and transact business the same on Sunday as on other days, but a poor man may be sent to jail for thirty days for trundling a wheelbarrow in his own individual business. But if the same man should do the same work on the same day for a railroad, steamship, or gas company, or any other large corporation, it would be perfectly legal.

Under clause "d" permission is given all establishments employing "many operatives"—large business concerns—to repair furnaces and machinery all day Sunday; but the common blacksmith could not hire a man to repair his forge, neither could he repair the machinery or tools of a poor farmer, no matter how much needed, under penalty of \$200 fine, or thirty days in jail.

Clause "h" permits the sale of ice-cream after one o'clock Sunday afternoon, but the \$200 fine or thirty days in jail faces the person who sells a cent's worth of milk. Why is it criminally wrong to sell fresh milk on Sunday, and right to sell the same milk when frozen?

Clause "h" allows the sale of "the

products of tobacco" after one o'clock Sunday, but selling or delivering a loaf of bread would be a misdemeanor, subject to \$200 fine, or thirty days in jail. Could anything be more absurd? Buying a chew of tobacco or a stick of candy one minute before one o'clock Sunday would be a misdemeanor, subject to the penalties of this act; but if purchased two minutes later, it would be a legitimate transaction. By what means shall the official time be known over all the State? This is important, seeing that two minutes difference in the time of buying so small a thing as a stick of candy would mark the difference between a law-abiding citizen and a criminal.

Clause "i" allows the sale and delivery of "daily newspapers." This is an unfair discrimination against all papers that are published less than seven times a week, making it unlawful to sell or deliver them on Sunday. It gives special privilege to the Sunday publisher.

Section 300, clause "m," contains a pretended exemption for those who observe some other day than Sunday as the Sabbath. In all other cases of exemption the persons, their business, and the work necessary for carrying it forward, are exempt, but in this case only the "person" is exempt. Under such a law the "person" could open his store or place of business on Sunday, but the law would not allow the general public to do business with him, or labor for him, as on other days. Thus the law would ruin his business on that day.

This same clause exempts religious observers of another day from the penalties of the law, providing they are members of a religious society that observes another day than Sunday; but it does not exempt the conscientious observer of another day who does not belong to a church or society. It compels him to join a society or church, or lose sixteen and two-thirds per cent of his time or income, or suffer the penalty.

Section 301 provides for closing saloons and bars from midnight Saturday night until midnight Sunday night, but there is an exemption which allows the free use of intoxicating drinks in "one's own home for family purposes, or as an act of hospitality." This transfers liquor drinking on Sunday from the saloon to the home. It gives the saloon

a chance to get a poor fellow's money before midnight Saturday night, and then get rid of him by giving him a bottle and sending him home, where in the presence of the family he may distribute liquor freely all day Sunday, "as an act of hospitality," to all who may assemble, not at the saloon, but at "one's own home."

In the paragraph following exemption "v" it is provided that none of the twenty-two clauses of exemptions shall preclude the legislature, or any county, city and county, city or town, from enacting "any more restrictive law or ordinance," nor shall "any more restrictive law" which in the future may be passed, general or local, be nullified by these exemptions. In other words, this law is the opening wedge. Every one of its exemptions may be swept away.

All religious legislation is bad, and always tends to injustice and persecution. Religion is a matter between man and his God, and beyond the power of civil

government; for if the government could compel a man to perform some duty to God, it could not compel God to do anything for man. Leave all people free in matters of religion, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others.

We congratulate the people of California upon the fact that their legislature will not be required to pass this unwise legislation, and we urge the friends of religious liberty to conduct such a campaign of education throughout the State as will render ineffective any future effort to enforce a religious observance by law. It is passing strange that any who have read the history of religious persecution in the past can be willing to open the door for the repetition of such inhuman acts. Let the state attend to civil affairs, and leave religious concerns alone.

American Federation of Catholic Societies

In Session at Louisville, Ky., Aug. 18-21, 1912

THE convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies held in Louisville, Ky., was the eleventh annual session. There is no question that this new Catholic organization is a growing and vigorous one. It now claims a membership of nearly three millions, and has its organizations in most of the States, and in Alaska, Porto Rico, and Hawaii.

The two things made most prominent in this convention were the fealty and obedience of the federation's members to the Pope and his personal representative, and the utility and ability of the organization in bringing about in this country the paramount purpose of the church.

The federation's mammoth procession, held on Sunday afternoon, was indicative of its strength, but not of its numbers. This may seem paradoxical; but the fact was that in that procession was very much that belonged to professed Prot-

estants and other non-Catholics. A resident of Louisville, who knew by experience, told the writer that the business men felt it necessary to permit their teams or horses to appear in the parade, lest their business should be boycotted in the future. So this parade, in which much non-Catholic property appeared, represented in this particular Rome's power to accomplish her purpose; and Protestants and other non-Catholics contributed to make this Roman holiday.

It was a shock to many of the people of Louisville to see such a parade, including marching soldiers and rumbling cannon, winding through the streets of their city and past their churches on Sunday; but no public protest was voiced, and no one was arrested for doing unnecessary work on Sunday.

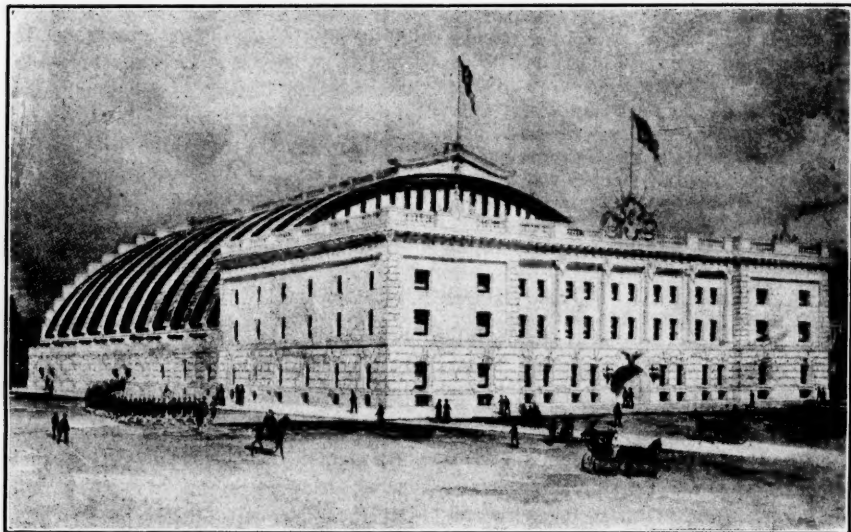
To make the procession and the convention more spectacular, the governor of the State, the lieutenant-governor, the

mayor of the city, and other civil dignitaries were in attendance, and sat with the prelates of the church on the reviewing stand in front of the principal Catholic church of the city. Not only so, but the governor and the mayor were present at the opening meeting of the convention, to welcome the delegation to the State and city, and to laud, in their addresses, the activities of the Catholic Church.

The city was in gala-day attire. Everything that was public was bedecked in

mails to all publications that attack their faith, the support of the parochial schools by public taxation, the ousting from office of all public officials who are "bigoted," and the control of all Catholic public officials for the advancement of the church's interests. It makes no secret of these purposes.

This organization more than any other is coming into a position where it will be able to bring tremendous pressure to bear upon politicians, to induce them to



THE NEW JEFFERSON COUNTY ARMORY, LOUISVILLE, KY.

Here were held all the mass-meetings of the convention.

yellow and white, the trade-mark of Rome; and private residences and non-Catholic business houses seemed to vie with one another in parading the papal bunting. Some houses were profusely decorated with the American flag; but the avowed purpose of the federation to make America Catholic made such decorations also seem appropriate to the members of the federation.

The organization still holds before its members, as objects which it must accomplish, the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws, the closing of the

carry out the purpose of Pope Leo XIII to have the constitutions of these States and of this nation molded in harmony with the principles of the Catholic Church.

The national secretary's report, containing nearly fifteen thousand words, is filled with the accomplishments and objects of the organization, and we find by this that its activities are not limited to the United States.

But the federation has met with one reverse in its efforts, and that is in the matter of the exclusion from the mails

of all literature attacking the Catholic faith; but it does not intend to drop the matter. Concerning this the national secretary says in his annual report:—

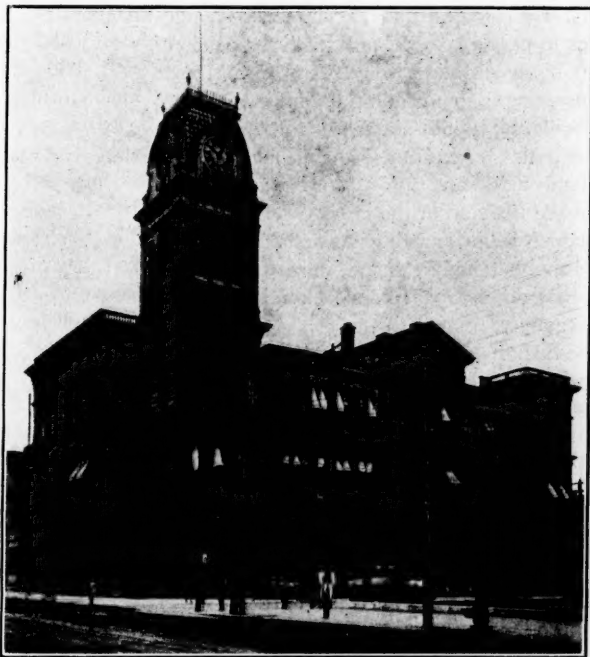
Your national secretary took up this matter with the Postmaster-General and the Third Assistant Postmaster of the United States. Under date of March 22, 1912, Hon. Frank H. Hitchcock, Postmaster-General, writes as follows:—

"I have to inform you that there is no provision of law under which newspapers or other publications containing violent criticisms of any particular religious faith may be excluded from the mails, unless such criticism takes the form of personal slander, scurrility, or obscenity, in which case the publisher becomes amenable to the criminal laws of the United States, and may be fined or imprisoned, or both, and his publication debarred from the mails. It is not probable that under our federal Constitution, which prohibits interference with religious opinion in any way, a law could be passed restraining criticisms of religious faiths."

The Third Assistant Postmaster - General wrote the secretary to the same effect, stating that his department was without authority of law to take any other steps than those indicated in the letter of the Postmaster-General. The secretary of the federation then inquired of the department to know what words could be added to the present law so as to exclude from the mails papers, etc., that "continually slander and defame the leaders of the Christian faith." The Third Assistant Postmaster-General replied:—

While such a policy on the part of any portion of the public press is to be deplored, nevertheless, since your request involves a matter which is peculiarly within the province of the legislative branch of the government, I do not feel at liberty to make any suggestions as to the legislative policy to be pursued. Your senators and representatives in Congress would, no doubt, give careful consideration to your request.

The secretary then epitomizes the situation thus:—



CITY HALL, LOUISVILLE, KY.

This and all other public buildings were profusely draped in American and papal colors in honor of the convention.

From the above communications it appears that no law could be enacted under our federal Constitution to stop the circulation of papers, etc., containing *general* violent criticisms of any particular faith.

Concerning the movement for Sunday enforcement, the secretary says:—

Our societies in many localities are urging for a more rigid Sunday observance, and have encouraged the movement

for a post-office closing on Sunday. They are also opposing the holding of political rallies on the Lord's day. The Boston Archdiocesan Federation has recently passed a resolution to introduce in the next Massachusetts Legislature a bill requesting the closing of liquor establishments on Good Friday.

It is not the province of legislatures to pass bills "requesting" certain things to be done or not to be done; and yet, at the behest of so influential an organization as the federation, the State legislatures might do so uncommon a thing as to pass a law "requesting" the people to observe Good Friday. And from "requesting" the people to observe Good Friday, it would not be such a very long step to "requesting" the people to attend mass and go to confessional and make the sign of the cross. When legislators begin enacting laws that have to do with religion, as the Sunday laws do, these other propositions follow in natural sequence.

Bishop James A. McFaul, of Trenton, who is perhaps more than any other one man responsible for the organization of the federation, said this of the organization's purpose, in his address at the mass-meeting on the evening of August 20:—

Let it be one of the aims of the federation to spread Catholic literature and become an apostolate of the laity and use the press for the propagation of the faith, for the cultivation of virtue, for the destruction of error and the advancement of truth. Thus shall we confer countless blessings upon Catholics and non-Catholics, and bring about the consummation of our hopes by making America a Catholic country, and the brightest gem in the crown of our holy mother, the church.

To make America Catholic and bring all the institutions of the country into harmony with, and into subservience to, the Roman hierarchy in the interests of the church, is the one chief aim of the leaders in that hierarchy; and the American Federation of Catholic Societies is the most apt and most powerful agency

ever put into that church's hands for the accomplishment of that object. Pliant Protestants and suppliant politicians are making a smooth path for her toward that goal. Archbishop Messmer, of Milwaukee, said: "Federation is the strongest and most powerful organization in the United States to-day." Bishop McFaul said: "Such a union is desirable for the formation of an instrument which will always be ready to voice Catholic sentiment in the State and in the nation. We may seldom need it, but when we do, we need it badly, and it must therefore be in such shape that we can immediately put our hand upon it, knowing that it is powerful enough to produce the required results."—*Convention Souvenir*, page 162.

President Feeney, in his annual address, made several statements to show that Protestants are beginning to realize that they must work in harmony with the Roman Catholic Church if they would accomplish what they desire to see accomplished. He said:—

Dr. Hamilton, president of Tufts College, a non-Catholic New England institution, in a recent address said: "Men who believe in law and order must learn to work with the Roman Catholic Church and the American Federation if they would save the republic." . . . It is gratifying to note that non-Catholics are becoming profuse in their praises on the church's stand against an evil which is sapping the very life of the nation.

With an organization such as this in the country, and with those praising its activities who should be opposing its progress and purposes, the outlook for religious liberty in this country is far from reassuring.

C. M. S.

A Word of Warning to Protestant Churches

AMONG the reforms which the officers of the Federal Council of Churches in America propose to use the influence of that organization in securing, are these: "The abolition of child labor, old age

pensions, a minimum wage, a free Sunday, and reduction of labor hours." In discussing this subject the *Presbyterian of the South* (Aug. 7, 1912) sounds a note of warning, which ought to receive the serious consideration of the Federal Council. We quote:—

But if reforms in these particulars are to be secured by official intermeddling on the part of the church's representatives, with legislation by State and national governments, we may ask, Where will the thing end? what legislation on moral and humanitarian interests may not be officially demanded of the state by the church? and what answer have we to make to the claim of Rome that the church must require that the interests of religion shall be promoted by the state?

The churches may declare themselves in their several courts or legislative bodies as favorable to legislation by the civil power that will promote public morals and social purity and happiness; but when the church through authorized deliverances or through accredited representatives attempts to shape specific acts of civil legislation, it is on dangerous ground. For cases extraordinary which seriously involve the interests of religion, we have precedents in both inspired and

uninspired history, of humble petition to the civil power. But the trend of our day is to promote the cause of righteousness by conventional devices rather than by the gracious resources provided by Him who said, "My kingdom is not of this world." The free hand of modern experiments may be pointing backward to an earlier age of spiritual bondage. For when the church as such uses its opportunity to frame and direct the policies of the state, then may the state in turn claim the right to use opportunities for dictating the policies of the church.

Following up this subject in its next issue, the *Presbyterian* said:—

It has been pretty hard in the past for deliberative bodies of the church to abstain from intermeddling with the affairs of the state, and it will require ceaseless vigilance in the future.

One of the most important lessons which history teaches is that any direct union between the church and the state is an injury to both. The separation of the two is of divine arrangement. It would have been much better if this arrangement had always been conscientiously regarded by the church.

Putting the Church Over the State

A Warning for the United States

THE following appeared in *El Comercio* of Quito, Ecuador, Jan. 9, 1912, under the heading "Colombia:"—

Law 59-1911, Regarding the Press and Other Means of Publicity.

The Congress of Colombia

DECREES:

ARTICLE I: That newspapers and other periodicals can not make announcements by posters or by calling out, without the title of the paper, the date of its publication, its political color, and the name of its editor. Any infractions of this article will be punished with a fine of from five to ten pesos, gold.

ART. II: The posters in which invitations are extended to public meetings, in the name of whatever society, can not

be put up without being signed. In case of violation, the director of the printing establishment in which the posters were printed, will suffer a fine of from five to ten pesos, gold. Invitations to public meetings can also be signed with the name of one or various periodicals.

ART. III: That no notice which, in its title or in its text, has anything obscene, or defamatory invitations against one or various persons, whether ordinary citizens or occupying legal positions, can be put up in any public place. Infractions of this article will be punished with a fine of from one to ten pesos; and in case of a second offense, with from one to five days' imprisonment. This punishment for putting up the notice does not release the offender from the penalty

which he incurs by the publishing of these announcements in any form. . . .

ART. VI: That a penalty of imprisonment for from one month to two years will be given,—

(a) To whoever commits an outrage against the good customs, by the sale of, or offering for sale, exposing to view, posting up, or distributing in the public way, or in public places, writings, special extracts from any book, announcements, drawings, illustrations, paintings, emblems, or any obscene object or images, which are contrary to good customs.

(b) To him that pronounces in public obscene discourses or songs, or makes announcement contrary to the good customs.

At the beginning of the trial, or criminal procedure against offenders, the judge of instruction will lay an embargo upon the writings, drawings, etc., of which this article treats, and will keep them in deposit during the trial. If the offender is found guilty, orders will be given that these writings be destroyed; otherwise they will be returned to their owners. The announcements which are condemned by the disposition of this law will be torn down by the order of the judge.

ART. VII: That the sale of, or offering for sale, the announcement and distribution of books condemned by judicial sentence in conformity with the penal law,

will be punished with the penalty given in the previous law. . . .

ART. XVIII: That the archbishops and vicar-generals have sufficient power to denounce directly, or to cause by their agents, those who are responsible for the offense of the press against religion, worship, or against religious communities.

Given in Bogota, the sixteenth of November, 1911.

The President of the Senate, Jose Vincente Concha.

The President of the House of Representatives, L. Segovia.

The Secretary of the Senate, Carlos Tamayo.

The Secretary of the House of Representatives, Miguel Penaredonda.

The Executive Power, Bogota, Nov. 22, 1911.

Let it be published and executed.

Carlos E. Restrepo.

The Minister of the Government, Pedro M. Carreno.

This law is in perfect accord with the decrees of the popes. It places the Catholic Church above the state, and makes that church an absolute censor over speech and the press in Colombia. If Rome accomplishes her purpose to make Catholicism dominant in the United States as it is in Colombia, freedom of the press, of speech, and of religion will be outlawed here as it is there. C. M. S.



Religious Liberty Conferred by Divine Authority

THE doctrine that to any man or to any organization of men has been committed the privilege of compelling others to render service to God, is an utter perversion both of the spirit and of the letter of the Scriptures, and is simply one form of the manifestation of the depraved desire to lord it over others. Before the Scriptures can be made to teach anything else than freedom of choice in the matter of religion,—the privilege of worshiping according to the dictates of one's own conscience or of refusing to worship,—there must be a revised ver-

sion in which certain passages are made to read quite the opposite from what they now teach. For example: to the text, "He that will, let him take the water of life freely," would need to be added, "and he that will not, let him be compelled to take the water of life." And "If any man hear my sayings, and keep them not, I judge him not," would need to read, "I judge him, condemn him, and hand him over to the secular power to be dealt with." "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching," should read, "If any man

willeth not to do his will, he shall be compelled to know the teaching." "Choose you this day whom ye will serve," would need to be amended so as to read, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve, provided your choice is acceptable to the hierarchy." And Christ's words, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's," would need to be expunged entirely as introducing an altogether unsafe principle, and there should be substituted for it a clear statement of the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authority over all men and all things. It is not at all probable that such a revision as this will be made, and those, therefore, who attempt to establish the right of any spiritual authority to require assent to a human creed are compelled to ignore certain plain statements of the Scriptures, and to put a forced and fanciful construction upon others in order to secure even the semblance of divine authority for their assumption of control over the minds of others.

In the record of his dealings in the olden time, the God of heaven has clearly taught the lesson that he has not committed rule over the conscience into the hands of any civil ruler to compel worship of any kind; but that when one chooses to worship the true God, no one can rightly interfere to prevent him from doing so. One experience in which this lesson is most forcibly inculcated is recorded in the third chapter of Daniel. The facts are familiar to every reader of the Scriptures. The king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, had erected an image and had summoned from all parts of his dominion representative officials "to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up." This image was a personification of the state, and the worship of it was a recognition of the state as divine,—to all intents and purposes a deification of the state. To

bow down before the image was to set the authority of the state above any other authority, and was, therefore, equivalent to depriving the true God of the place which rightfully belonged to him.

It is true that Nebuchadnezzar was king in a special sense by divine appointment. Of this we read in the announcement made by Jehovah through the prophet:—

"I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me. And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; . . . and all nations shall serve him; . . . and it shall come to pass, that the nation and kingdom which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and that will not put their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, that nation will I punish, saith the Lord." Jer. 27: 5-8.

It would plainly follow that if any earthly ruler could claim unlimited authority and the right to enforce his will in all things, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, could certainly claim such a charter of privilege. But while it is definitely revealed that "the powers that be are ordained of God" (Rom. 13: 1), and that civil government is, therefore, of divine appointment, it is also manifest that the authority of civil rulers extends only to things civil, and that the relation of man to his Maker is wholly beyond the cognizance of king or emperor.

In the presence of the assembled multitude the herald made royal proclamation announcing the signal for worship, and when the sound of the music was heard, "all the people, the nations, and the languages, fell down and worshiped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up."

The three Hebrew captives, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, the compan-

ions of Daniel, heard the proclamation, and the strains of the music fell upon their ears; but they refused to join in the idolatrous worship. Complaint was made to the king: "These men, O king, have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." There was no delay in dealing with those who failed to observe the royal mandate. Questions were plainly put and plainly answered, and these young men, in loyalty to the God of heaven, dared to issue to the mighty earthly monarch their ultimatum: "We will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

Such an apparent contempt of royal authority called for the infliction of the threatened punishment, and into the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, roaring for its prey, the three young men, securely bound, were cast by order of King Nebuchadnezzar.

But the king of Babylon had presumed upon the dominion of the King of heaven. He had attempted to control that most sacred thing, the conscience of man. He had sought to compel worship, idolatrous worship. He had exceeded the authority conferred upon him by the Ruler of both heaven and earth. He must be unmistakably rebuked for this assumption of the right to control the conscience, and the lesson must be plainly taught, for the benefit of all future generations, that the jurisdiction of civil government does not extend to mat-

ters of conscience; therefore the God of heaven interfered, and thwarted the wicked purposes of King Nebuchadnezzar. The form of the Fourth appeared in the fiery furnace. The three faithful worshippers of God were delivered from death, and at the command of the king came forth unharmed. The king of Babylon then acknowledged an authority greater than his own. "Nebuchadnezzar spake, and said, Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God." Dan. 3:28.

More impressive than verbal instruction is the lesson taught in this experience. In an unmistakable manner the God of heaven expressed his disapproval of any effort to bind the conscience. From the mouth of the burning fiery furnace he issued the mandate that men are free to worship or not to worship according to the dictates of their own conscience.

Although this experience has often been violated since that memorable day in the plain of Dura without calling forth any manifest exhibition of the divine displeasure, yet through all these centuries it has remained true that he who attempts to compel the conscience disregards the voice from the fiery furnace, defies the authority of God, and usurps the place of the King of kings.



A Significant Episode

INASMUCH as the separation of church and state was stigmatized by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical letter "*Libertas præstantissimum*," June 20, 1888, as a "fatal theory" and "that fatal principle;" and inasmuch as one of the so-called errors condemned by Pope Pius

IX in the famous Syllabus of Errors, promulgated in 1864 (Prop. 55), is that "the church ought to be separated from the state and the state from the church," it may naturally be expected that the Roman Catholic hierarchy will attempt to control the affairs of the state in the

interests of the church, just so far as such action is not prevented by a strong Protestant sentiment. Current political history is supplying frequent illustrations of this use of the church power in the interest of candidates for office whose election is desired by Rome.

One such illustration comes to us from the Northwest. At the recent election for school director in the city of Portland, Oregon, the election of one of the candidates, Mr. Beach, was desired by the Roman Catholics. Accordingly, ref-

olic priest has over the members of his church, will understand that no further action on the part of the priest was necessary in order to instruct his people that they should cast their ballots for Mr. Beach, and not for any other candidate.

The opposing candidate, Mr. O. M. Plummer, resented this influence of the hierarchy in a political matter; and he accordingly published his protest in the *Oregon Daily Journal*, of Monday, June 17, 1912. A facsimile of his statement of the case is presented herewith:—

Keep Sectarianism Out of the Public Schools

I very much regret that in at least two Catholic churches of the city—that of Father Gregory and Father Hughes—announcement was made Sunday morning to this effect:

"Monday the election for School Director occurs. It is a matter in which we should be deeply interested. Each member of this congregation should vote as his conscience dictates. Cards will be handed you as you pass out of the church."

Cards of Mr. Beach, candidate against me for School Director, were handed each member of the congregation as he went outside the church.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that any church, even by implication, should be brought into any fight that relates to the public schools. From them, above all other places, sectarianism should be banished.

For myself, I am free to say this is and always has been my attitude; no

matter what church or creed might be involved.

This question has never come up to me before. It has never made a bit of difference to me what a man's religion was. If he was a man, that was enough for me, and I never inquired further. I number Catholics among my friends, some of them of twenty years' standing. Some of these, I am sure, will regret that any political machine—Superintendent Rigler's or any other—could wield such influence as brought about the result I here mention.

For myself, I am no politician—only a plain business man, with some sense of public duty and official responsibility. If elected, I want to go in as an American citizen, who fully feels what he owes to the public school system and realizes the benefits it may be made to confer. It is as an American citizen I want to go onto the School Board, and not as a sectarian or the representative of any creed.

O. M. PLUMMER.

(Paid Advertisement.)

erence was made to the election in two of the Catholic churches, and those in attendance were told that cards would be handed to them as they left the church. These cards were issued in the interest of the candidacy of Mr. Beach. Those who know what power the Roman Cath-

It should not escape the attention of our readers that this communication was inserted as a "paid advertisement," and that it was so designated by these words placed at the bottom of the statement. We do not know whether Mr. Plummer could have secured the publication of his

protest in any other way; but it is significant that he paid for the space which he occupied, although his communication was certainly a matter of general public interest.

It may be proper to state in this connection that we are just as much opposed to any interference in political matters on the part of the Protestant churches as on the part of the Roman Catholic Church; and we regard as dangerous both to the church and the state, the tendency of the Federal Council of the

Churches of Christ in America to use the influence of that powerful organization in securing legislation, and in otherwise influencing the action of the legislators. The church was not instituted to secure reforms by law, or to act as general adviser to the state. The church is not a political machine.

This episode in the Northwest was not regarded as of sufficient importance to command general public attention, but it is one of the straws which show the direction of the wind.

That Sunday-Closing Proviso

IN the last issue of *LIBERTY* a full statement was made concerning the proviso attached to the Post-office Appropriation Bill forbidding the opening of post-offices of the first and second classes for the delivery of mail to the general public on Sundays. In its report to the Senate, the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads recommended that this proviso should be concurred in by the Senate, and it was retained in the bill as finally passed. An order was issued by C. P. Grandfield, First Assistant Postmaster-General, which took effect Sunday, September 1, instructing all offices affected by the law that there would be no handling of mail in the Post-office Department, except mail in transit, between midnight Saturday night and midnight Sunday night, but that special delivery letters would be delivered as usual.

In its issue of August 29, the *New York Times* refers to this proviso as an "unnecessary specimen of 'jay' legislation," and declares that "the law is a bad law, and should be repealed as soon as possible." To quote further:—

This backwoods legislation has been carefully designed to affect only the large cities. In offices of the third and fourth class there will be no curtailment of Sunday work. The fishermen and summer sojourners of Siasconset will get their

Sunday letters and newspapers as usual. But in New York, Chicago, and Boston, and other large cities, Sunday mail service will inevitably be less effective than it has been. . . .

This so-called Sabbatarian measure, born of the meddlesome methods of a lot of self-appointed reformers, was placed before the House of Representatives a year or more ago by Representative Mann, of Illinois, of whom more intelligence might have been expected. It has naturally appealed to the notions of "social uplift" held by the jay members, especially when the embargo was lifted from the smaller offices. The new Sunday law was conceived in a petty and meddlesome spirit. . . .

Few believed that even the jay Congress of 1912 would try to carry us back to the methods of the first quarter of the last century. That the people are not satisfied with the law is clearly indicated in the rising storm of protest.

Although this law does not require the observance of Sunday, it is such a legislative recognition of the day as will no doubt be used later as a precedent for securing the enactment of a measure making work on Sunday a crime. By taking this action, it would appear that Congress has reversed the decision made when the famous Sunday Mail Reports of 1829 and 1830 were adopted, and has violated a precedent that has been followed for more than a century.

American Principles in the Balance

SANFORD B. HORTON

REFERENCE has been made in these columns to the Post-office Appropriation Bill, introduced in the last Congress, which contains a provision for the compulsory closing of post-offices of the first and second classes on Sunday, so far as the delivering of mail to the general public is concerned. July 23 the Senate Committee on Post-offices reported the bill (H. R. 21279) to the Senate with favorable recommendations as to the Sunday-closing proviso, in the following language:—

"In making appropriations for the compensation of postmasters and clerks, the House bill provides that post-offices of the first and second classes shall not be opened on Sunday, but that this provision shall not prevent the prompt delivery of special-delivery mail. The Senate committee joins in recommending the adoption of this provision.

"While it is true that Sunday closing of post-offices of the third and fourth classes would greatly inconvenience the people in rural communities who are accustomed to go to town on Sunday and get their mail, this inconvenience is not felt by patrons of first- and second-class offices, who are almost entirely residents of cities. In a large number of first- and second-class offices, the distribution and delivery of mail, either at windows or from boxes, has been discontinued already, and without any material complaint from the people.

"It has been suggested by some that the provision be changed so as to permit the delivery of mail for one hour, or for delivery of mail through boxes on Sunday; but on a moment's reflection, it will be readily apparent that the delivery of any portion of the mail for any portion of the day necessitates handling and distributing the entire mail, and, consequently, the employment of a considerable number of clerks, thus defeating the purpose to be accomplished. We believe that so long as the law applies to all alike

and does not permit one man to secure his mail while denying it to others, this provision, which insures post-office clerks one day's rest in seven, is a wise one, and should be adopted. Senders of mail reaching its destination on Sunday can insure prompt delivery by affixing a special-delivery stamp."

This magazine has also placed before its readers the fact that while opposed to the enactment of Sunday laws by Congress, it does not wish to be understood as opposing the granting of one day's rest in seven to employees of the Post-office Department. But it has been clearly and definitely suggested that a vital principle of church-and-state relationship is involved in making this a matter of legislation.

During the Eleventh Congress (1811) petitions were received by that body from the Synod of Pittsburgh "praying that the laws and regulations for the government of the post-office establishment may be so altered and amended as to prohibit mail-stages and post-riders from traveling, and post-offices being kept open, on Sundays." Similar petitions were introduced in subsequent Congresses until the present time, but the uniform practise of Congress has been to recommend unfavorable action on the petitions. The subject of compulsory closing of post-offices and post-road service on Sunday received very careful attention in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses. It was decided by both the Senate and the House of Representatives of those two Congresses that to grant favorable consideration to such petitions as above referred to would involve a violation of the principles upon which the American government was founded. The reports to these two Congresses have been referred to many times in this magazine, and it will not be necessary to reiterate that which is doubtless well known. One point, however, ought to be referred to in the report communicated to the

House of Representatives, March 4 and 5, 1830, by Congressman Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, in behalf of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, in which the evident attitude of the founders of this country toward Sunday laws is especially referred to as follows:—

"If the measure recommended [for Sunday closing] should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession, or how numerous the train of measures which would follow, involving the dearest rights of all,—the rights of conscience.

"It is perhaps fortunate for our country that the proposition should have been made at this early period, while the spirit of the Revolution yet exists in full vigor."

Not alone did Congress understand the principles involved in that kind of legislation, but several States of the Union, notably Indiana, Alabama, Kentucky, Vermont, Illinois, and the city of Philadelphia, sent memorials and resolutions commending the action of Congress in refusing to legislate upon the subject of Sunday observance. One part of the resolution adopted by the Alabama General Assembly, Dec. 31, 1830, is a fair sample of the spirit of the different States referred to:—

"Be it further resolved, That the sentiment expressed in the report of the committee at the last session of Congress, in opposition to the suspension of the mail on Sunday, is entitled to the highest consideration of the friends of the Constitution, and every lover of civil and political freedom.

"And be it further resolved, That our senators in Congress be instructed, and our representatives requested, to use their exertions in opposition to any measure that may tend to retard the transportation of the mail."

It may be of interest to note in this connection that Senator Johnston, who has persistently urged the passage of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia, comes from the State of Alabama.

The attitude of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses, following the well-established precedents of previous Congresses, was well thought of and approved among the people. A notable illustration of this was the printing on silk and other material for general distribution, of a part of the Sunday Mail Report to the Senate of the Twenty-first Congress. One of these documents found its way into the general Post-office Department, and was placed on exhibition as a souvenir until 1904. It will be remembered that at the St. Louis World's Fair, held that year, the International Sunday Rest Congress adopted a resolution recommending that official and legislative bodies be urged to enforce Sunday laws and to enact more restrictive laws on the subject of Sunday observance. A communication to the Postmaster-General was adopted on Oct. 11, 1904, by the Sunday Rest Congress as follows:—

"To the Postmaster-General, Regarding a Sectarian Document in His Office.

"To the Postmaster-General of the United States, Washington, D. C.

"HONORABLE SIR: We, the members of the International Sunday Rest Congress, in session in Congress Hall, St. Louis, Mo., hereby petition that the sectarian document which was prepared during an early controversy about the Sundays mails, and containing arguments against all Sunday laws, be no longer given a place in the office of the Postmaster-General; or, if it is to be retained, that the undersigned be allowed to frame an answer to be placed beside it.

"(This action was adopted by the Sunday Rest Congress, and was signed by a number of the officers and members.)"

Apparently the Postmaster-General acceded to the wishes of the Sunday Rest Congress, for the document was removed. The writer has for some time been searching for this document, and recently was rewarded by finding the same in one of the offices of the General Post-office Department, and a facsimile copy of the Senate report, concurred in January, 1829, appears as the frontispiece in this number of LIBERTY.

It is quite evident that public men and lawmaking bodies are gradually yielding to the demands made by religious bodies to change the course of this government from a strictly civil one to a church-and-state affair. It should be well known that the first steps in the direction of union of church and state began with the enactment of a Sunday law in the fourth century. It was Constantine who enacted the Sunday law of 321.

If the American people revere and honor the work of a patriotic ancestry; if the electorate of this country appreciate the American idea of civil government,

which is the very opposite of the Roman idea which culminated in the dark ages; if the American people would prevent the possibility of intolerance and persecution in this land of liberty and freedom, it stands them in hand to call a halt on the ominous tendency of our legislative bodies to yield to the encroachments of ecclesiasticism. We sincerely believe that the Sixty-second Congress, by adopting the Post-office Appropriation Bill with the Sunday-closing rider, has taken a step in the direction against which our forefathers warned the nation.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

Un-American, Unequal, Unconstitutional

A Study of the Sunday Law Proposed for California

J. F. BLUNT

JUDGE COOLEY, that prominent authority on legal and constitutional questions, says: "Every one has a right to demand that he be governed by general rules, and a special statute that singles his case out as one to be regulated by a different law from that which is applied in all similar cases, would not be legitimate legislation, but an arbitrary mandate unrecognized by the law."

In definite agreement with this fundamental principle of jurisprudence is the following provision of the constitution of California, confronted at the outset by those who are seeking to secure the adoption of a Sunday-closing law in that State, by recourse to the initiative:—

"No special privileges or immunities shall ever be granted which may not be altered, revoked, or repealed by the legislature, nor shall any citizen, or class of citizens, be granted privileges or immunities which, on the same terms, shall not be granted to all citizens."—*Sec. 21, art. I, Constitution of California.*

Notwithstanding this sweeping prohibition, it has pleased the framers of the proposed Sunday law to introduce, under twenty-two general headings, more than one hundred exemptions, many of them

affecting large classes of labor, by means of which special privileges are proposed to be extended to various persons, on various pretexts, until it would seem probable that the number exempted would be greater than the number to whom the law would apply.

It has been said most pertinently by one who has made a detailed study of these proposed exemptions, that each and every one of them is an unanswerable argument and objection to such a law; for "if the arguments could have been answered and the objections removed, the exemptions would not have been made."

It is germane to the issue, therefore, to suggest that the recognition of the necessity for making so many exceptions to the rule, in view of the crying need for a softening of the provisions of the proposed enactment in these numerous instances, shows that even its framers realized the impossibility of securing its adoption, unless the probable opposition of these excepted classes should be forestalled and averted by special exemptions, and that even at the cost of reducing the entire measure to such absurdities as stamp it instantly as class legislation.



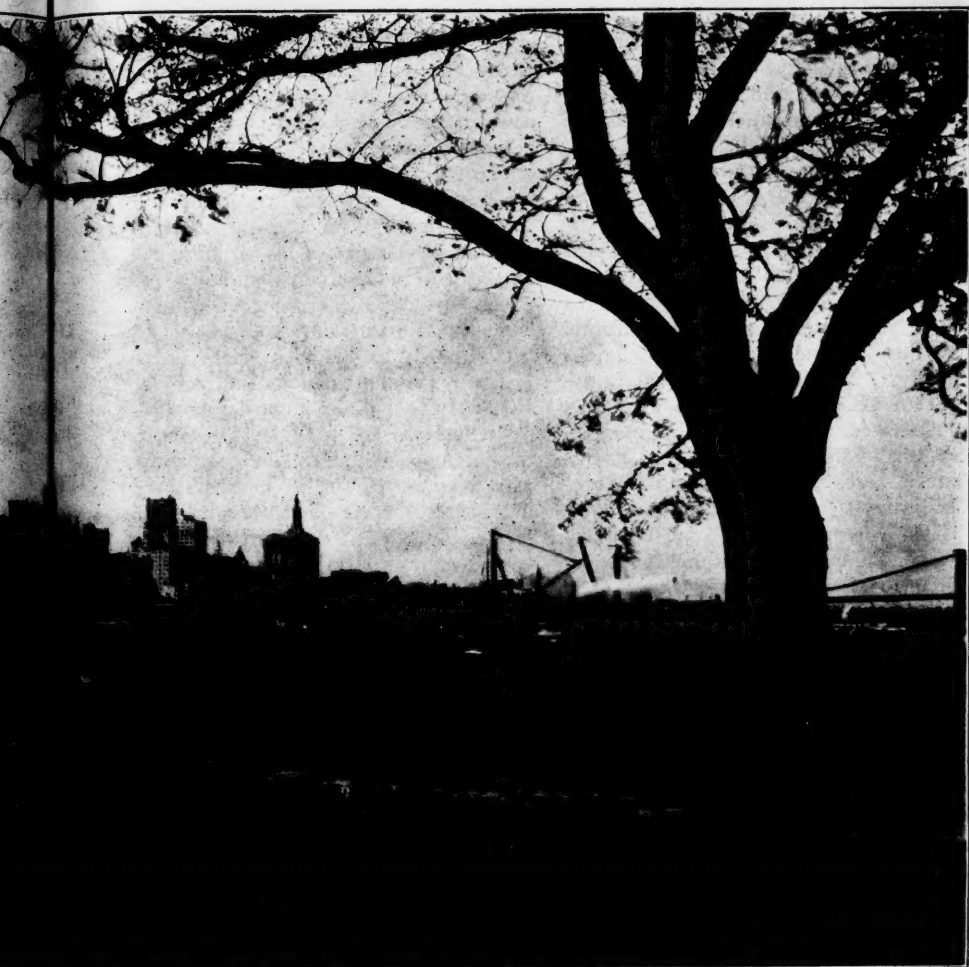
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LOWER MANHATTAN ISLAND FROM GOVERNOR'S ISLAND — NEW YORK'S AG IN ANY OTHER CITY IN TH

EXPLANATION.— At the left between the trees, the Whitehall Building; in the center, crowned with the Singer Building; further to the right, the Woolworth Building (in process of construction), which, when by the tower, the new Municipal Building; at the extreme right is shown the west end of one of the great su

A Berlin newspaper quotes Herr Hermann Struck, the German academician, as saying that New York's "clo fairylike silhouette," and that the more he studied these high buildings, the more they fascinated his artistic eye.

Shame and disgrace are being meted out to New York on account of the recent revelation that the lawless ele and profitable. Thus both civil and religious liberty are endangered, since liberty is preserved by respect or law. A day evening, August 14, to give expression to public opinion concerning the situation. In his address, District At shocked this nation perhaps as few crimes have in the history of the city or the history of the nation, — the killing In the light of all the circumstances connected with it, it was a challenge to our very civilization itself." Dr. Lyman The people have the authority to make laws; have they power to make these laws obeyed? The best law menorced makes the unwilling obey it." In the *Outlook* (August 24) appeared this editorial comment: "Perhaps the greatest ness by gamblers in the red-light district and by gamblers in Wall Street; lawlessness by liquor dealers and by man weakness in our national life is our failure to compel obedience to the laws we make." "It is not only the right, it their will; and it is the duty of the public press, which is the voice of the people, to call them to such counsel and su make and to declare the firm resolve that the laws which they enact shall be enforced, that the practise of the com crime recently, and shocking political corruption has been exposed. These conditions constitute a sign of the times



NEW YORK'S AGGREGATION OF SKY-SCRAPERS CAN NOT BE DUPLICATED IN ANY CITY IN THE WORLD

water, crowned with the pyramidal tower, the Bankers' Trust Building; near it and partially hidden by it, the Empire State Building, which, when completed, will be the tallest building in the world; still further to the right, surmounted by the great suspension-bridges connecting the city proper with Brooklyn.

New York's "cloud-catching sky-line," as he came up the harbor, was revealed to his wondering gaze as "a picture of his artistic eye."

that the lawless element and the men paid to uphold the law have connived to make disregard of the law safe respect for law. A great mass-meeting, addressed by representative citizens, was held in Cooper Union, Wednesday, District Attorney Whitman said: "I want to say with regard to a crime that has shocked this city and nation,—the killing of Herman Rosenthal was a murder, of course, an awful murder, but it was more than that. It was a crime against the people." Dr. Lyman Abbott made another equally striking statement: "Democracy is on trial in this our city. Lawlessness is only a good intention, is worth nothing, unless worth is put into it by the power that enforces it. Perhaps the greatest stain on our national honor, the greatest vice in our national life, is lawlessness—lawlessness—lawlessness by managers of high finance; lawlessness by mobs, by groups, by individuals. Perhaps the greatest sign of the right, it is the duty of the people to take counsel together, to learn how they can compel obedience to such counsel and such action. Back of the police, back of the courts, are the people, and it is for the people to practise at the community shall correspond with its profession." The great cities have been swept by waves of sign of the times.

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But why should Sunday be accorded distinctive recognition in a land where Constitutional guaranties of equal liberty and of the unhampered enjoyment of religious profession and worship, are extended alike to Jew and Gentile? Even the Mohammedan may dwell in the United States with the assurance of protection from the civil power in the exercise of his religion, though Friday is his day of rest from labor; and California has this definite pledge of religious equality: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, *without discrimination or preference*, shall forever be guaranteed in this State."—*Sec. 4, art. 1, Constitution of California.*

Then why should the state be asked to favor the ecclesiastical practise of any system of religion? Those who observe a day other than Sunday as the Sabbath, and those who deny any obligation to rest at all, alike have claims to protection under our impartial system of government. Not all admit the sacredness of Sunday. While it has pleased many to attach ideas of reverence to the first day of the week, contrary to the plain teachings of the Scriptures, yet throughout all ages there have been those who have maintained the binding obligation of the seventh day, ordained of God as an eternal memorial of his creative act, when he laid the foundations of the heavens and the earth.

But the advocates of the proposed law point complacently to the clause in that instrument exempting from its provisions "any person who is a member of a religious society which observes some other day than Sunday as its day of worship," and ask what more the Jews or the Seventh-day Adventists could ask than such liberal consideration. To this, response is made that in order to secure the exemption, even if it were not unconstitutional to grant it, one would be compelled to unite with some religious society, whereas the honest observer of another day who was not a member of an organized body of religious believers would have no remedy for his dissenting

opinions. He would have to submit to the observance of Sunday or suffer the consequences. Moreover, even the member of a church, holding to the observance of another day, who might claim exemption, is specially constrained by these terms: "Who actually keeps his place of business or of his ordinary calling closed, and does not work for gain at his ordinary calling or at common labor on said day of worship." If the act is merely to secure a weekly day of rest, why are the framers of the measure so particular that any other day observed by fellow citizens shall be observed by them religiously? And the comparative worthlessness of the exemption is seen in that the observer of another day, while himself released from Sunday-keeping, is still restrained in the conduct of his business. He could open the doors of his place of business, but those not members of a religious body observing another day religiously could not enter his shop or store, or other place of business, for the transaction of business, without themselves becoming liable to the penalties of the law. Thus the exemption is inadequate, and should it be admitted that the state had a right to dictate in such matters, even this consideration might be withdrawn at any time.

"Liberty of conscience and belief is preserved alike to the followers of Christ, to Buddhist, and Mohammedan," says Justice Henshaw of the California Supreme Court, in an opinion ordering the discharge of a Hebrew, charged with the violation of a former statute, who had been imprisoned for keeping his clothing store open on Sunday. In this most recent ruling, wherein a definite statement is found regarding the force of Sunday laws in California, the court declares that liberty of conscience is preserved "to all who think that their tenets alone are illumined by the light of divine truth," but adds immediately, "It is equally preserved to the skeptic, agnostic, atheist, and infidel."—*California Reports, Vol. CXII, page 468.*

More striking yet was the ruling of Chief Justice Terry of the same court,

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who made this cutting observation: "The enforced observance of a day, held sacred by one of the sects, is a discrimination in favor of that sect, and a violation of the freedom of the others."—*California Reports, Vol. IX, page 502*. In the further consideration of the case at issue, Justice Terry wrote: "*The legislature has no right to forbid or enjoin the lawful pursuit of a lawful occupation on one day of the week, any more than it can forbid it altogether.*"

These citations are in perfect harmony with the spirit of liberty which illuminates the basic laws of the republic. The Declaration of Independence, antedating the organization of the national government, declares these truths to be self-evident: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator

with certain inalienable rights; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

To indicate the complete separation of church and state, the Constitution provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."—*Sec. 3, art. 6, United States Constitution*. And as a final proof of religious freedom, and as fortifying the position of absolute equality of all religionists on the free soil of America, this splendid charter of our liberties declares: "Congress shall make no law respecting an

establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."—*First Amendment, United States Constitution*.

"Any law which forbids an act not in itself *contra bonos mores*, because that act is repugnant to the beliefs of one religious sect, of necessity interferes with the liberty of those who hold to other beliefs or to none at all," said Justice Henshaw, in the opinion heretofore cited.

And he adds, with all the force of his judicial determination: "A man's constitutional liberty means more than his personal freedom. It means, with many other rights, his right freely to labor, and to own the fruits of his toil." In his final summing up, he says, concerning the former statute: "The law not only is special, unjust, and unreason-

able in its operation, but it works an invasion of individual liberty, the liberty of free labor, which it pretends to protect."

The plausible advocates of Sunday sacredness, however, assert with great vehemence that the act is entirely in the interest of labor, and that there is no interference with the religious scruples of those who would become subject to its provisions. Apparently these churchmen have decided that it would be a good thing for their fellow citizens to rest; and rest they must, if the proposed law can be made operative. Fine and imprisonment would stare the unfortunate householder in the face who should dare to clip his lawn, or gather a little

Absurd and Contradictory

The Idaho Sunday Law Should Be Repealed

While perhaps a worthy object was sought to be attained by its passage, the provisions of the act itself are in many respects both absurd and contradictory, and the matter has twice been before the supreme court, requiring the construction at the hands of that tribunal, while many other of its provisions still remain in grave doubt. . . . The reasons for many of these prohibitions are simply incomprehensible to the average mind. Personally, I do not believe it proper to legislate upon matters of this kind. . . . As a result of its experience in construing this law, the supreme court has proposed in its report to the governor that it be so amended as to make it intelligible. Undoubtedly the act needs amendment if it is continued in force, but I would suggest as a still better remedy that the entire act be repealed.—*Governor James H. Hawley, of Idaho, in his Message to the eleventh legislature, 1911.*

fruit or a few vegetables from his garden for use on his own table, if he should engage in these harmless activities on the first day of the week, or, as the erudite framers of the law have perspicuously defined the period of time interdicted, as beginning "at twelve o'clock on Saturday afternoon," and as ending "at twelve o'clock on the following afternoon," whatever that may mean to persons of ordinary intelligence.

"It is a curious law for the protection of labor which punishes the laborer for working," observes Justice Henshaw, in the decision before referred to. "Such protection to labor, carried a little further, would send him from the jail to the poorhouse."—*California Reports, Vol. CXII, page 468.*

Inquiry may be made regarding the present statutes affecting wage-earners in California. While the State has not been committed by its legislators to the folly of Sunday legislation, since the repeal of the old law in 1883, the interests of labor have not been forgotten. An act, still operative, provides a respite from labor "one day in seven," and makes it unlawful for an employer to exact more than six days of labor consecutively, without according to his employees one day of rest. The violation of this act, as of that making eight hours a day's labor, is punishable as a misdemeanor, and the State Bureau of Labor is engaged at this time in the diligent enforcement of both these laws without expense to the individuals affected.

What, then, is the real object of presenting the Sunday-closing law as a boon to labor? An answer is found in the unguarded admissions of its advocates. The Rev. W. F. Crafts, of Washington, D. C., secretary of the National Reform Bureau, who has been lecturing in California in the interest of a Sunday law, declared not so very long ago at Wichita, Kans.: "We are laboring with all our might to carry the religious sabbath with our right arm, and the civil sabbath with our left. Hundreds of thousands will receive it as a religious institution, and all the rest will receive it as a civil in-

stitution, and thus we will sweep in the whole nation."

And why are they so desirous of sweeping in the whole nation? "Give us good Sunday laws, well enforced by men in local authority, and our churches will be full of worshipers," wrote the Rev. S. V. Leech, D. D., in the *Homiletic Review*, as long ago as November, 1892.

There it is. Sunday laws are wanted, and will be "enforced," in order that the churches may be "full of worshipers." And there is a union of church and state! Is it any wonder that the people of California do not want it?

To invoke the initiative would require at the present time the signatures of more than 31,000 duly qualified voters on the petition asking for any enactment, based upon the total vote for governor at the last State election, when nearly 400,000 votes were cast for the various candidates. Since that time the franchise has been extended to women; and their registration, if taken into account, would compel the acquirement of approximately 60,000 signatures for the submission of any measure to the direct vote of the people. But notwithstanding a voting population of from 800,000 to 1,000,000, as variously estimated, the advocates of the proposed Sunday law, after a lengthy campaign, succeeded in enrolling only 8,714 signatures. California still is responsive to the principles of civil and religious liberty.

If the state had any right to compel any or all of its citizens to suspend work on Sunday, with equal right it could compel any or all of them to refrain from labor on any other day of the week. Nay, more, with equal consistency, it could prohibit its citizens from working at all, or even declare that they should work all the time, thus reducing them to slavery.

But California has seen that all such enactments are subversive of the freedom of mankind, vouchsafed by the Creator, and guaranteed by the fundamental laws of State and nation. Despite the just provisions of civil constitutions, for many years California alone of all the

sister States, has extended to all alike the liberty of conscience and religious practise that should be inalienable. But Arizona, now, just recently admitted to the honor of Statehood, has taken a firm stand beside the Golden State, for the preservation of human rights; and in these two States, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Christian and heathen, black and white, stand in the same relation to the state. Nor is it intended now that the liberties of the people shall be bartered away to those who are aflame with the idea of forcing the

acceptance of their religious dogmas by the aid of the civil power. And in this determined stand for the upholding of civil and religious liberty, these stalwart champions are true to the principles of our national government, as expressed long ago, and to that commandment of divine origin, as well, inscribed on the old Liberty Bell, which heralded the birth of this republic at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Lev. 25: 10.

Los Angeles, Cal.

Rome and the Prohibition Party Platform

A Shameful Surrender of American Protestant Principles

A. J. SAXBY BOURDEAU

THE National Prohibition Convention was held at Atlantic City, N. J., July 10-12, 1912. Two features of this convention are of special interest to lovers of religious liberty: (1) The rejection by the platform committee and the convention of a plank advocating the perpetual separation of church and state, and (2) the elimination of a plank advocating Sabbath legislation. The last-named plank as finally adopted reads as follows: "15. The protection of one day in seven as a day of rest."

Dr. Swallow's Rejected Plank

In harmony with the traditions and previous platforms of the party, the venerable Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, the Prohibition nominee for president in 1904, endeavored to have incorporated into the party platform a plank described thus in his letter to the writer, dated Aug. 17, 1912:—

"Mr. A. J. S. Bourdeau,

"Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry will say that after the adoption of the platform of the Prohibition party at Atlantic City, on the eleventh of July, I presented an additional plank favoring the exclusion of sectarian garb worn by teachers of our public schools, also stat-

ing that 'we are opposed to the appropriation of public moneys to sectarian churches and schools,' and, further, that 'we demand that the separation of church and state be perpetual.'"

As far back as 1869 the National Prohibition party incorporated in the very first plank of its platform a declaration on religious liberty fully as strong as the one introduced at Atlantic City by Dr. Swallow. It read as follows:—

"1. That while we acknowledge the true patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundations of this government, securing at once the rights of the States severally, and their inseparable union by the federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchers of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our solemn pledges of fealty to the *imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty* embodied in the Declaration of American Independence and our federal Constitution."

In the Prohibition platform of 1876 appeared still stronger statements directed against the union of church and state. The very first words of the report of the platform committee read thus:—

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"The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people to *revive and enforce, and perpetuate in the government, the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence,*" etc.

The ninth plank in said platform read as follows:—

"The separation of the government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws, with *entire freedom of religious faith and worship.*"

Strange to say, however, the sixth plank of this same 1876 platform pledged the support of the party in reality to the union of church and state through the enforcement of laws compelling the observance of a religious rest day. It read:—

"SIXTH. The national observance of the Christian sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employments (works of necessity, charity, and religion excepted) on that day." (See "One Hundred Years of Temperance," pages 545, 546, published by the National Temperance Society and Publication House, 58 Reade St., New York, N. Y., 1886.)

Similar Planks in Republican, Democratic, and Other Platforms

Dr. Swallow's proposed plank was also in harmony with similar religious liberty planks adopted at one time or another by practically every political party known to United States history; namely, those adopted in Philadelphia in 1800 by the Democratic-Republican party; in New York, by the Democratic Equal Rights Party Convention in 1836; at the regular Democratic conventions from 1840 to 1856; by the Liberal Republican Party Convention, Cincinnati, Ohio, May 1, 1872; by the Republican party, at Philadelphia, June 5, 1872; by the Democratic party, at Baltimore, July 9, 1872; by the Republican party convention of 1876; by the National Liberal party, at Cincinnati,

Ohio, Sept. 14, 1879; and again by the Republican party, at Chicago, June 2, 1880. (For full text of these planks see "American State Papers," pages 166-170.)

Plank Defeated by Telegram From Archbishop Ireland

At the Republican Party Convention held at St. Louis, June 16, 1896, the friends of religious liberty made an effort to incorporate into the party platform the following declaration found in the platform of 1876:—

"The public-school system of the United States is the bulwark of the American republic, and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, *forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.*"

In spite of the fact that the platform committee had taken favorable action upon this plank, the newspapers throughout the country also having published the digest of the platform, before its adoption, containing the principles of said plank, it was finally eliminated upon orders from Rome. On June 24 the daily press contained the following despatch from St. Louis:—

"The following telegram was received by Chairman Carter of the Republican National Committee, from Archbishop Ireland:—

" 'ST. PAUL, MINN., JUNE 17.

" 'To Thomas H. Carter,

" 'National Committeeman,

" 'St. Louis, Mo.

" 'The clause in the proposed platform opposing the use of public money for sectarian purposes and union of church and state is unnecessary and uncalled for. It is urged by the A. P. A. Its adoption will be taken as a concession to them, will awaken religious animosities in the country, and will do much harm. The Republican party should not lower itself to recognize directly or indirectly the A. P. A. I hope the clause, or anything like it, will not be adopted.

" 'JOHN IRELAND.'

"A gentleman was told by a prominent member of the committee that the paragraph declaring against the United States Treasury for sectarian purposes would be incorporated, and that the committee had taken favorable action upon it. Later in the day he was surprised to learn from a member of the committee that this action had been reconsidered, and that there would be nothing in the platform in that regard. This change is now attributed to the telegram from the archbishop. The despatch was referred by Chairman Carter [Roman Catholic] to Edward Lauterbach [Jew], of New York, and he, with National Committeeman R. C. Karens [Roman Catholic], of this city [St. Louis], went before the committee and succeeded in knocking out all reference to the church."

It should be noted that not one member of the committee proposing the reaffirmation of the plank of 1876, nor a single man consulted in the matter, was a member of the American Protective Association, the archbishop's telegram to the contrary notwithstanding.

A Catholic Priest Defeats Dr. Swallow's Plank

Two speeches were made at the Prohibition convention in opposition to the "Church and State" plank proposed by Dr. Swallow: the first by "Father" Geo. Zurcher, a Roman Catholic priest from East Aurora, N. Y. (and, it is said, editor of the only Roman Catholic Prohibition organ); the second by Mr. Matthew E. O'Brien, a delegate from Washington, D. C., national committeeman, member of the platform committee, and chairman of the Prohibition Congressional committee.

Dr. Swallow himself thus describes the nature of the arguments used by Rev. Mr. Zurcher and Mr. O'Brien in letters to the writer, and to the editor of the *Free Methodist* of Chicago:—

"Rev. Mr. Zurcher made a speech against it [the plank] emphasizing the idea that it would, if adopted, tend to exclude Catholics from our party and render it unpleasant for Catholics now mem-

bers of the party, because of the kicks they would get from fellow Catholics not members of the Prohibition party.

"Mr. Matthew O'Brien, of the District of Columbia, then got the floor, and made a speech against it on the ground that the same subject had been presented to the platform committee and rejected. He then took the unusual and unparliamentary course of moving to lay my resolution on the table, after two speeches against and none for it. This was decided by the chairman (pro tem) as not debatable, and was put to a count vote and decided by the chairman amid much confusion as 'laid on the table.'

"Of course I was greatly surprised that there should be any voices or votes against a resolution embodying some of the fundamentals of our republican form of government. The next day, under a question of privilege, I presented the same resolution after eliminating the 'sectarian garb' sentence. It was ruled by the chair, Rev. Dr. Charles H. Mead, of New York, out of order under a question of privilege, followed with the remark that it could be presented later. However, in the hurry incident to nominating candidates, money raising, and the desire of the delegates to adjourn, it was not again presented.

"I am very reluctant to believe that any church in the United States is in favor of uniting the church with the state, or in favor of looting moneys gathered by general taxation from all of the one hundred fifty denominations in the interests and for the support of any one of them, and yet the Rev. Mr. Zurcher's speech and Mr. O'Brien's motion would look that way. My greatest surprise was that any intelligent Prohibitionist should vote to table it.

"That Mr. Zurcher and Mr. O'Brien should be able to get in *two* speeches against the proposition to perpetuate the separation of church and state and to appropriate all public moneys to the purposes to which they were ostensibly collected, and then one of them make and carry through a motion to lay on the table the proposition before any one of

the 99½ per cent of the Protestants present could get in a word in favor of the proposition, is evidence that they knew what they were in the convention for, and had not studied in vain the policies and politics of centuries of teaching from past masters in ecclesiastical strategy.

"I do not hold the rank and file of Catholic membership in America in any way responsible for the influence back of such an attack on a resolution so in harmony with the genius and history of our government. I believe the mass of them are true Americans, ready to do and dare, and, if need be, to die for their country. Among my warmest personal friends are laymen and women in the Catholic Church. All honor to the Catholic Total Abstinence Societies, and to the very few priests who have espoused the prohibition cause, provided they have no ulterior purpose, and can not be used by designing church leaders higher up in antagonizing the fundamental principles of our republic.

Warns Against Rome's Aims in America

"However, my friendly relations with Catholic laymen, and my admiration for the prohibition heroes among the priests, and for the Catholic soldiery who stood shoulder to shoulder with Protestants in the conflicts for the establishment and preservation of our government, do not blind my eyes to the fact that it is the purpose of the man on the Tiber, proclaimed vicegerent of Jehovah, infallible in temporal as in spiritual affairs, to do in America what he has done in every other country where he has gained power; namely, to so bind and oppress the intellect, the conscience, the government, and the liberty of his subjects, all from the love of power, as to make it desirable for them to run away from such oppression and find asylum under the stars and stripes.

"Nor am I blind to the fact that to the best of my knowledge it is not the custom of that church to discipline liquor-dealing members for the crime of poisoning soul and body, and of helping to produce a large percentage of the crime,

poverty, insanity, and general misery found in our country. An intelligent Catholic is authority for stating that a large proportion of the income of that church in this and in other countries is from the proceeds of the liquor traffic.

"One in position to know asserts that only about *one per cent* of the Prohibition vote of this country is cast by Catholics. Another equally well informed, says it is not more than *one fourth of one per cent*, or about 600 out of 250,000. But this statement only accrues to the honor of the few faithful, heroic souls who thus stand out and almost alone in their allegiance to high principle and self-sacrificing endeavor.

"I have hitherto challenged my own church—the Methodist—for its political partnership in the liquor crime through its support of the Republican party that for nearly a half-century has made the general government a *profit-sharing partner* to the extent of hundreds of millions a year in filling jails, penitentiaries, almshouses, and insane asylums. And now I challenge in love, the great, and in many respects, the good Catholic Church to stand not only for prohibition, but for the *perpetual separation of church and state*, and for holding sacred for the purposes intended the funds lodged in our public treasuries, whether municipal, State, or national."

Mr. O'Brien Defends His Position

Desirous of stating both sides of the argument justly, the writer interviewed Mr. Matthew E. O'Brien, attorney, in his office, Wednesday, August 14, and took down in his own words his defense of his stand on the platform committee and in the Prohibition convention against Dr. Swallow's proposed amendment to the platform. He said:—

"I got the floor and stated that in drafting the platform the committee had given careful consideration to planks of a similar character, but from the outset we had planned to endeavor to draft a platform not offensive to anybody, but one that would set forth our principles. I stated also that for that reason we had

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left the word 'Christ' out of the preamble, and made it read 'God,' a deity that would be recognized as supreme by all, whether Christian or not. That the purpose of the platform committee was not to antagonize anybody where it was not necessary in order to set forth the principles for which the party stood. That we considered the plank in question would antagonize some church-members. I also stated that in order not to offend other classes, in making the platform plank referring to a day of rest, the committee had it read 'the protection of one day in seven as a day of rest,' instead of saying, 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy,' or referring to some particular day as the Sabbath. Further, that having given the matter serious thought, we did not want to have this amendment kill the very purpose the platform committee had labored for, and that the plank in question had no place in the platform, and would simply give to our enemies justification for the argument which we frequently hear, that the Prohibition party is a narrow-minded, illiberal party.

"At the close of my remarks I moved that the Swallow amendment be tabled. My motion was immediately seconded. Robert Patton, of Springfield, Ill., said he wanted to ask me a question: 'Is it entirely fair for you to finish your remarks against Dr. Swallow's amendment and close the debate by moving to table the matter? I wanted to speak on the question, and others undoubtedly have something to say. I appeal to your fairness to withdraw your motion.' I said: 'I agree with Mr. Patton that the other side ought to have an opportunity to be heard, now that the matter has come before the convention. I do not favor, and do not want, a prolonged agitation of the question; it can result in no good to the party. I will withdraw my motion to table, and yield the floor to Mr. Patton, with the distinct understanding that at the close of his remarks, I will renew my motion.' The second refused to agree to the withdrawal of the motion. Cries from all over the convention prevented

the withdrawal, and the motion to table was carried."

Rev. Mr. Zurcher's Speech

That there is a sincere desire on the part of some Roman Catholics to unite with the Protestants in wiping out the liquor-traffic crime, is evidenced by the following extract from a speech made by Rev. Mr. Zurcher, at the Prohibition convention, as reported in the *Atlantic City (N. J.) Review* of July 13, 1912:—

"I am in this fight to bring Catholics and Protestants together to drive the saloons to the gates of hell, where they belong. I have received many kicks from the Protestant mule and as many more from the Catholic mule (I have received more kicks from the Catholic mule than from the Protestant mule), but I can stand them all. I am willing to be kicked in this work until my Heavenly Father says, Enough! come up higher. I will give \$100, and Rev. Father Martin Mahoney, of Minneapolis, has authorized me to subscribe the same amount for him; and may we stand shoulder to shoulder, you Protestants and we Catholics, until, please God, the last saloon is closed."

Rome Carries Her Point

And thus easily did Rome win her point in the Prohibition convention. The Catholicity, "heresy," sincerity, or insincerity of her tools or allies, as the case may be, do not affect the result in the least so far as she is concerned. There was danger to her in the proposed church-and-state plank. She has escaped that danger. Her representative by his objection to the plank acknowledges for her that she is opposed to the American principle of the separation of church and state. He further confesses that she is unwilling to forego appropriations from the public treasury to her sectarian institutions. If Rome is, as Cardinal Gibbons says, "the zealous promoter of religious and civil liberty" ("Faith of Our Fathers," page 264), why do her representatives cry out in alarm over a plank insuring both religious and civil liberty?

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Rome's Teaching on "Church and State"

In his Encyclical on Liberty, issued June 20, 1888, Pope Leo XIII said:—

"It is no way lawful to demand, to defend, or to grant promiscuous freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, or of religion, as if they were so many rights which nature had given to man."

Pope Pius IX in his Syllabus of Errors, issued Dec. 8, 1864, condemns eighty "errors," among which are these:—

"Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion which he believes to be true."

"The church ought to be separated from the state, and the state from the church."

In the "Manual of Christian Doctrine," a text-book used by "Brothers of the Christian Schools," ninth edition, published by John J. McVey, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1909, we find the following orthodox teaching of the Roman Catholic Church in all lands, under the heading "Union of Church and State," pages 132, 133:—

"*Question 120.*—Has the state the right and the duty to proscribe schism or heresy?

"*Answer.*—Yes, it has the right and the duty to do so, both for the good of the nation and for that of the faithful themselves; for religious unity is the principal foundation of social unity. . . .

"*Ques. 122.*—May the state separate itself from the church?

"*Ans.*—No, because it may not withdraw from the supreme rule of Christ.

"*Ques. 123.*—What name is given to the doctrine that the state has neither the right nor the duty to be united to the church to protect it?

"*Ans.*—This doctrine is called *liberalism*. It is founded principally on the fact that modern society rests on liberty of conscience and of worship, on liberty of speech and of the press.

"*Ques. 124.*—Why is liberalism to be condemned?

"*Ans.*—(1) Because it denies all subordination of the state to the church; (2) because it confounds liberty with right; (3) because it despises the social kingship of Christ, and rejects the benefits derived therefrom."

Pope Forbids Catholics Joining Prohibition Party

Having gained her point with the Prohibition party, one would naturally look for a favorable attitude on Rome's part toward the Prohibition party, resulting in thousands of recruits from among the Catholic ranks. Not so, however. Hardly a month after the elimination of the Swallow plank at Atlantic City, the Pope himself issued a warning to his followers against the Prohibition party. In the *New York Times* of Aug. 9, 1912, there appeared the following despatch:—

"CHICAGO, ILL., Aug. 8.—A sensation was caused to-day at the convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, now in progress at Notre Dame, Ind., when the president of the union, the Rev. Peter O'Callaghan, of Chicago, announced that he had received a communication from the Pope commanding that the members of the union have no connection with the Prohibition party."

Surely it is high time for Protestants of every religious and political persuasion to unite in opposing by voice and pen and vote the Vatican system which is seeking, in the words of the venerable Dr. Swallow, "to establish in this God-favored country such conditions as have forced millions of the Old World to flee from them, and find asylum in the New." The fear of Rome is upon all the great political parties, whose candidates vie with one another to secure her favor. Shall America adopt the old church-and-state system of civil and religious tyranny as taught to Europe by Rome, or shall she remain loyal to the principles of her Constitution and Declaration of Independence?

Divine Prophecy and Human History

W. A. SPICER

THE testimony of history to the fulfilment of prophecy affords sure and certain evidence that the Bible is of divine inspiration. The Lord challenges every man to face the evidence:—

"I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I showed them; I did them suddenly, and they came to pass." Isa. 48: 3.

Let us note some crises in human history, concerning which prophecy spoke long years and even centuries before the events transpired.

The Witness to Cyrus

A hundred years before the birth of Cyrus, of Persia, who overthrew the power of Babylon, the prophet Isaiah had written:—

"Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut." Isa. 45: 1.

On the night of the attack upon Babylon, the outer gates were, of course, shut; for the city had been long besieged. But by diverting the channel of the river Euphrates, which ran beneath the wall and through the city, Cyrus was able to send his troops along the river-bed, under the walls. Even so, an attacking force would ordinarily have been helpless; for the river on each side within the city was lined with a massive wall. Through these river walls gates opened into the streets of the city. Had these inner gates been shut, the Babylonians might have caught the Medes and Persians as in a trap. But in the revelry of Belshazzar's feast, these gates were left open. And the clay tablets, dug up in recent times, bring us the record, written by Chaldean scribes: "On the sixteenth day, Gobyraz, pasha of the land

of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus, without a battle entered Babylon."

Nearly two hundred years before that night, the prophet Isaiah had named Cyrus, declaring, "The gates shall not be shut." The God of heaven showed it "before it came to pass."

The Command to Cyrus

The Lord, through the prophet, had also spoken of the work that this man Cyrus was to do in returning the Jews from captivity:—

"He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built." Isa. 44: 28.

Josephus, the Jewish historian, says of this command, uttered before Cyrus was born:—

"This was made known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Isaiah had left behind him of his prophecies. . . . This was foretold by Isaiah one hundred forty years before the temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this, and admired the divine power, an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to fulfil what was so written." —*"Antiquities," book II, chapter 1.*

Therefore in the book of Ezra it is recorded of "the first year of Cyrus," that the king issued the proclamation:—

"Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem." Ezra 1: 2.

Thus, by the word of prophecy, God bore witness to kings of old, and they in turn declared his purposes to all the nations. The enemies of the Jews tried to defeat the rebuilding of Jerusalem. They sent hired counselors to the court of Cyrus, to frustrate the divine plan. These opposing agents were carrying on their work at the court "all the days of Cyrus." Ezra 4: 5. Evidently they

were at one time succeeding with the king; for just here applies the record of Dan. 10:13, with its revelation of the part the angels of heaven sometimes act in human history. Daniel was in those days seeking God in special prayer. For three weeks he had continued, when an angel came to him. The heavenly messenger explained that at the beginning of the prophet's supplication his prayer had been heard, but during that three weeks of waiting the angel had been held working with the king. The angel was no doubt seeking to influence the king to reject the counsel of the enemies of God's work. "The prince of the kingdom of Persia," said the angel, "withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me." The time had come for the work to be done, and the living God who had declared it, brought it to pass.

Bearing Witness to Alexander

Alexander the Great, king of Grecia, victor over Persia, was nearing Jerusalem, intent on punishing the city. The gates opened, and a procession of priests went out to meet him. The Jewish historian Josephus states that they bore in their hands the scroll of the prophecies of Daniel, written in Chaldea and Persia two hundred years before. From this scroll they read to Alexander the words that the prophet had written concerning Grecia and its career of conquest. There was the very name of Grecia in the writings, as that of the kingdom that was to follow Medo-Persia. (See Dan. 8:20, 21.) It was the witness of the living God of heaven to the most brilliant of earthly conquerors. The king received it as a message from God, and desisted from his purpose to punish Jerusalem.

The Fall of Jerusalem

The disciples of Christ had heard him pronounce the words of doom upon Jerusalem. But there were the temple walls, so massive as to defy any assault, apparently.

"And his disciples came to him for to

show him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." Matt 24:1, 2.

These words of prophecy came to pass. The Jewish religious leaders condemned Christ, and prevailed upon the civil power to order his execution. They cried, "His blood be upon us." Josephus describes the feelings of Titus, the Roman general, after the fall of Jerusalem, as he looked over the walls and towers:—

"When he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following:—

"We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications, for what could the hands of men, or any machines, do toward overthrowing these towers!"—*Wars, book 6, chapter 9.*

History of World Empire

Twenty-five centuries ago, in Babylon, the prophet Daniel gave to King Nebuchadnezzar an outline of the general course of empire from that golden age of Chaldea to the end of time. "After thee," he said to the king, "shall arise another kingdom [Medo-Persia] inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass [Grecia], which shall bear rule over all the earth. And the fourth kingdom [Rome] shall be strong as iron." The prophet described the division of the fourth great empire into lesser kingdoms. "The kingdom shall be divided."

Every reader of history knows well that this is the exact outline of the course of history. One evening, in India, I had studied this second chapter of Daniel with a student of the Calcutta university. He was a Hindu, a heathen. Well do I remember how, at the close

of the chapter, he declared solemnly, "Only the living God could have written that before the events came to pass!"

That is the truth. The "sure word of prophecy" is God's challenge to unbelief. Before ever the history transpired, the living God has again and again caused his prophets to write of coming events. Why has he done this? He gives one reason, based on the stubbornness of the natural heart of unbelief:—

"Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass; I have even from the beginning declared it to thee; before it came to pass I showed it thee." Isa. 48: 4, 5.

Unbelief is left without excuse. The evidence that the living God is speaking abounds throughout the Holy Scriptures. And with one voice the prophetic scriptures declare that the latter days of this earth's history have come. We are living in the days of the kingdoms of divided Rome, the modern kingdoms of western Europe, whose life and acts are before our eyes in the daily press. And it was after foretelling the division of the empire into these kingdoms that Daniel the prophet said: "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed." Dan. 2: 44.

Washington, D. C.

A Bit of History

W. F. MARTIN

ONE writer has said that the history of the seventeenth century presents a frightful picture; that in this picture three things are always prominent; a hangman, a gallows, and a victim.

When the Puritans came to America to escape persecution, they were imbued with this idea of seventeenth century intolerance. No sooner had they set up a government of their own than they began to persecute those who differed from them in religion. When questioned about this, they justified themselves by saying the Church of England had no right to persecute them because the Church of England was wrong in its theology and they were right. "It is proper," they argued, "for us to persecute the Baptists and Quakers, for we are right and they are wrong." They overlooked the great fact that in a religious controversy the persecutor is always wrong. These things continued for some time after the close of the Revolution.

It is surprising that men who had fought for freedom still endured such an amount of religious intolerance. In Massachusetts the tithing-man arrested breakers of the Sunday law, and shut them up in the town cage. He stopped all "unnecessary" traveling on Sunday, and

haled men and women off to church whether they wanted to go or not.

The men in Boston strove hard to escape these barbarous rules and infringements on liberty, but the people of the rural districts outvoted them. They were taxed to support the State religion. The most that could be accomplished was that the dissenters could escape the church rate by supporting a church of their own. This latter provision reminds one of some of the modern Sunday laws with their exemption clauses for those who religiously observe another day of the week as the Sabbath. If that was religious intolerance, so is this. If that was a church-and-state union, so is this.

To escape such religious intolerance, the first amendment to the national Constitution was adopted, building a wall of separation between the church and the state. A Sunday law, even with an exemption clause for those who regard another day, is a recurrence to the days of religious intolerance. Every man should be left to worship how and when he pleases. Religion is the duty we owe to our Creator and not to the state. "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

A Wonderful Example

L. A. SMITH

IN God's forbearance with the sinner, a wonderful example is set before mankind, which, if it had been heeded, would have prevented every act of religious persecution. This forbearance is mentioned by the apostle Paul in his letter to the Romans. See Rom. 2:4; 3:25. The force of this example did not escape the notice of Thomas Jefferson, who said, in the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom (passed in 1785):—

"Almighty God hath created the mind free: all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercion on either, as was in his almighty power to do."

God could force everybody to do right if he chose to do so. He could have coerced Adam and Eve into obedience in the garden of Eden, and thus could have prevented the entrance of sin into this world. But he chose not to do this. Let us consider what was involved in this choice on the part of the Almighty.

"By one man [Adam] sin entered into the world, and death by sin." Rom. 5:12. God left Adam free to obey or to disobey, and Adam sinned, and the whole world became a prey to sin and death. Man passed under the dominion of Satan, who became the "god of this world." John 14:30; 2 Cor. 4:4. And for six thousand years Satan has ravaged this portion of God's creation, instilling into human hearts hatred of God and his government, perverting every truth and institution of God, leading men to curse and blaspheme God instead of worshiping him, until the whole earth reeks with crime and sin of every sort and degree, and continuously there rises up before the face of the Creator a black cloud of insult from the beings whom he has made in his image. Blinded and per-

verted though our natures are by sin, yet we are often shocked at the disclosures which are made of the wickedness going on in some locality, some tiny portion of the world's surface; but God's pure, all-seeing eye takes in everything at once, in every place, both the evil that is revealed, and that which is hidden from the eyes of men. He sees every sin, every act by which men trample upon his law and express contempt for and defiance of his government. He sees at once all the pride which is so offensive to him, all the injustice and cruelty of man to his fellow man, all the persecution suffered by those who would be loyal to him. He hears every lie and every slander uttered to misrepresent him before those whom he would save. He sees at once all the suffering and wretchedness to which, because of the fall, the members of the human family are subjected. All this God has beheld for thousands of years; and at any moment during all those years he might have interfered and coerced Satan into subjection and man into obedience.

But even this is not all, nor the worst of what was involved in God's choice that man should be left free to choose between right and wrong with only conscience to impel him to obedience. To provide a way of salvation for fallen man required that the Son of God should die. Only thus, if the transgressor were to be saved, could the honor of the violated law be upheld. God was required to give his only begotten Son, and not only to surrender him to death, but to the death of the cross.

Do we ever pause to consider how God himself must have suffered while his only begotten Son hung upon the cross? Suppose, reader, that you had an only son, who had always in the most perfect manner served you with loving obedience. How should you feel if you saw that son hanging nailed to a cross, and not only that, but knew that the worst of

his sufferings was from a vivid sense of your frown and displeasure upon him? How should you feel if you were compelled to strike him a most cruel blow as he hung there in his agony? What human parent with a spark of paternal affection could endure such an ordeal? Yet God was compelled to smite the Shepherd who gave his life for the sheep. "He hath made him to be sin for us," and the fierce wrath of God against sin, even that of all the world, was visited upon Christ. In the darkness that enveloped Calvary's cross, the Father, his glory veiled, stood by the side of his Son, hearing, but restrained from heeding, the despairing call, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" All this was involved in God's choice to leave man a free moral agent, not employing coercion to secure obedience; and God knew it all, and *God chose to leave him free.*

Better all this sin, this evil, this suffering on the part of God and man, for thousands of years continued, than that God should use coercion in the domain

of man's conscience. Such is God's testimony to the importance of religious freedom. Could a stronger testimony be conceived of than this? It surely ought to have the greatest weight.

With what utter abhorrence, then, must the God of heaven look upon the schemes of fallen, erring, sinful man to coerce the conscience of his fellow man,—the efforts to secure and enforce legislation compelling men to observe religious institutions and to pattern their religious conduct in whole or in part after the example of the majority! How blind and deluded the men who, in promoting such efforts, imagine they are doing God service!

Human governments must employ coercion; but only, as says the Declaration of Independence, in order for the preservation of the inalienable rights which each man has from his Creator. And of all these rights, none is more sacred than the right to be guided in all matters of religion by the dictates of the conscience.

Nashville, Tenn.

Establishing the Kingdom by Law

G. B. THOMPSON

"WHEN Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone." John 6:15.

The National Reform idea is that the kingdom of God may be established in the earth by means of laws on civic righteousness, thus making Christ "king of its courts, its camps, its commerce, king of its colleges and cloisters, king of its customs and its constitutions."

The National Reform Association, among other so-called needed reforms, is endeavoring "to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the Christian religion, and to indicate that this is a Christian nation,

and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land." This means a union of the church and the state, with the church dictating to the state, and Christ, the head of the church, made by law the head of the nation, with all his laws and church customs made obligatory in the Constitution. When the people of his day sought to do this same thing in principle, Jesus "departed again into a mountain," thus early in his ministry placing the stamp of his disapproval upon this so-called honor.

The following words of Thomas Hewlings Stockton contain an infinity of truth, ablaze with glory, and deserve to be had in eternal remembrance by those who, through misguided zeal, are seek-

ing to establish the kingdom of God by legal enactments:—

"There was one sacrifice too great for Christ to make. He was willing to leave the throne of the universe for the manger of Bethlehem; willing to grow up as the son of a poor carpenter; willing to be called the friend of publicans and sinners; willing to be watched with jealous eyes, and slandered by lying tongues, and hated by murderous hearts, and betrayed by friendly hands, and denied by pledged lips, and rejected by apostate priests and a deluded populace and cowardly princes; willing to be sentenced to the cross, and be nailed to the cross, and bleed and groan and thirst and die on the cross. But he was *not* willing to wear an earthly crown or robe, or wield an earthly scepter, or exercise earthly rule. That would have been too great a sacrifice. He did, indeed, endure the crown of thorns, and the cast-off purple, and the reed, and the cry, 'Hail, King of the Jews!' But this was merely because he preferred the mockery to the reality; so pouring infinite contempt on the one, not only by rejecting it in the beginning of his ministry, but also by accepting the other at its close."

There are two kingdoms,—a kingdom of grace, and a future everlasting kingdom where the redeemed will live. The kingdom of grace has been in the world since the fall of man, gathering out subjects for the future kingdom which will be established when Jesus comes. This kingdom of God is not material, but spiritual. Said Jesus on a certain occasion, "The kingdom of God is within you." To Pilate he said, "My kingdom is not of this world." Christ's kingdom is not meat and drink, but "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Earthly kingdoms are founded by force; their weapons are the sword and other implements of slaughter. This kingdom of God is founded on love, on the principle of the golden rule, of returning good for evil; its weapons are not carnal, but spiritual, and mighty to the pulling down of the strongholds of sin. How vain for finite man to endeavor to put such

divine attributes as these into the human soul by civil law! These can never be legislated into the heart, but must be begotten by the Holy Spirit through the new birth.

"And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever." The eternal kingdom of Christ is here clearly foreshadowed. This is yet future, and will be established at the second coming of Christ, in the new earth, when earthly kingdoms are no more, and sin, with all that goes with it, has been blotted out. The setting up of this kingdom was represented in a vision that was given to the seer in Babylon, by a stone which smites upon the feet an image representing the kingdoms of this world, breaking to pieces all earthly kingdoms, and making them like the chaff of a thrashing-floor, to be carried away by the wind; and this kingdom of God, symbolized by the stone, is established and fills the whole earth. This is not done by converting these kingdoms, or through some laws passed by a national legislature, but by utterly destroying them at the last great day, by the brightness and glory of the second coming of the Son of God, whose kingdom will then be established. To seek to establish such a kingdom by some human endeavor is as though we sought to propel a boat by puffing with our own breath at the sail, or like trying to make the world move on its axis by pushing with our feet.

The effort to unite Christianity and the state, and thus make Christians by law, breaks down at every point. Having lost the spiritual power of the kingdom, the church is seeking the support of the crutch of civil laws. If successful, it will be destructive to both Christianity and the state. The history of the dark ages and the history of colonial days, when witches were burned, and the Quakers persecuted, tells the sequel. Macaulay eloquently and truthfully says:—

"The ark of God was never taken till

it was surrounded by the arms of earthly defenders. In captivity, its sanctity was sufficient to vindicate it from insult, and to lay the hostile fiend prostrate on the threshold of his own temple. The whole history of Christianity shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than of being crushed by its opposition. Those who thrust temporal sovereignty upon her, treat her as their prototypes treated her

Author. They bow the knee, and spit upon her; they cry, 'Hail!' and smite her on the cheek; they put a scepter in her hand, but it is a fragile reed; they crown her, but it is with thorns; they cover with purple the wounds which their own hands have inflicted on her, and inscribe magnificent titles over the cross on which they have fixed her to perish in ignominy and pain."

Washington, D. C.

Religious Liberty in China

ONE of the great questions in the new republic of China is, Shall China have a state religion, and what shall it be? One of the periodicals which promises to become a leading journal is the *Republican Advocate of China*, published weekly at Shanghai, the second number of which, June 15, has come to us. Among the questions discussed is the one above stated. The editor tells us that a large number of replies have been received, on all sides of the question. He prints three characteristic ones. One is from the Rev. C. Spurgeon Medhurst, who advocates a state religion. The letter clearly shows that the writer does not understand the real questions at issue, and it contains very little of the American principle of separation of church and state. He declares that the American republic was founded by devout Christians, to whom state and religion were synonymous.

But state and religion were so far from being synonymous that the fathers of the American republic felt that it was absolutely necessary to place in the fundamental law the prohibition that Congress should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, and to declare that no religious test should ever be required of any citizen. But this writer argues that "circumstances in China are different. . . . The government dares not ignore the strength to be derived from the agreement of many minds, such as only religion supplies. To specify the nature of this state religion is more diffi-

cult. Personally, I believe China will only become a strong nation as she becomes a Christian nation, yet I should oppose the state recognition of Christianity." But it might be answered, If one is going to demand a state religion, why not take the best religion there is? Of course to him who understands it, there can be no true union of Christianity with the state; it is only a form of religion with the state that could be effected. Christianity is life, and not a matter of human law. This writer would have such a state religion with no other definition than "God is love," or "Love is God," with the ethics of the golden rule, — a sort of namby-pamby religion that would please nobody.

Another reply comes from "Gualterio," whom some may recognize as one of our own correspondents, Mr. W. E. Gillis. He states it this way: —

"Should China have a state religion?' is the most vital issue now confronting the nation. To answer in the affirmative means to support a policy that puts a premium on hypocrisy, and stultifies the mission of true religion. Should China have a state religion? — Never! The experiences of history forbid it. The voice of reason says No!"

"Gualterio" then refers to the various classes of government, — the divine right of kings, the old pagan form; the second class, the papal dominations of Europe for twelve hundred sixty years, and the loss of millions of lives to witness to its deplorable régime; and "the United

States of America is a luminous example of the third class. Conceived and brought forth as the offspring of those who fled the persecutions of church domination in Europe, the government was launched with an entire divorce of church and state. That the result has been preeminently satisfactory is amply evidenced by the expansion of territory and people, education and wealth, in the brief period of one hundred thirty-six years. Here is proof that freedom in religion, as in labor, has the same inspiration of hope."

The third reply printed is from Mr. John Duroch, of the General China Tract Society, Hankow:—

"I do not think there can possibly be two answers to the question which you have propounded to your readers. China should not have a state religion, and therefore there is no need to consider what that religion should be. In this respect China is no different from any other nation. No nation can have a state

religion without discriminating against those of its people who are conscientiously opposed to that religion. You can have a state system of education, because all the people will accept the same system of secular instruction. This and such other functions as taxation, representation, etc., are properly within the control of the state. Religion is a personal matter, an affair of the individual conscience, and as such is absolutely above and beyond the control of the state. I am a Christian, but am firmly convinced that the worst thing China could do for Christianity would be to make that the state religion of China."

This is most excellent. They are brave, noble words, and we earnestly hope that such sentiments will prevail in the new republic. They have worked out satisfactorily in America, sad though it is that there are now zealous men endeavoring to overthrow them. But we hope they will not succeed.—*W., in the Signs of the Times.*



Sunday Laws Viewed From the Standpoint of Citizenship

Do They Rest on the True Basis of Civil Law?

G. D. BALLOU

ALL civil law has its origin in the personal rights of the individual citizens.

Every citizen has certain powers or privileges which come to him as a birth-right. They are called divine rights because bestowed by the Creator.

The chief of these personal rights are the rights to defend life, property, reputation, and the chastity of one's family.

These rights also extend to the defense of the life, property, and reputation of the fellow man, and to the defense of the chastity of his family.

Now when we elect men to become our legislators, we delegate to them the authority that we ourselves possess, and no other authority. Hence our legislators are empowered to pass laws protecting the relationships of life referred

to, and thus lessen the necessity for the individual to look after his own personal defense. A little careful study will show that all just laws must be made with reference to relationships growing out of these personal rights. Anything that endangers life, property, reputation, or chastity becomes a subject for just prohibitive legislation. Hence we may specify that laws ought to be made to prevent obscene plays and to hinder the dissemination of obscene pictures and literature, because these things tend to corrupt the chastity of society; and laws may justly be framed to prevent the sale of intoxicants, the use of which renders men ungovernable, and thus endangers life, property, and chastity.

But there are other important relation-

ships in life which it is just as highly desirable to have conserved and protected as the ones already noted; and yet these relationships are matters for persuasion rather than legal regulation. I may not dictate to my neighbor the kind of food he shall provide for himself and family, nor the kind of clothing. Nor may I command him, for his health's sake, to spend eight hours out of every twenty-four in bed. Nor may I command him to rest one day in seven. Nor may I say how he shall use his means, nor how he shall think on any subject; and many other privileges which are God-given, I may not legally interfere with in any manner. I may persuade, but I can not invoke the force of law where no one's personal right is infringed.

So in the light of these self-evident facts, the citizen has no authority to delegate to his lawmaking representative in these last-mentioned matters. And as the authority of each citizen to make his fellow man rest on any day of the week, thus attempting to regulate the other man in the use of his time, or to do any of the things just named, is represented by zero, so a million voters have only a million zeros of authority, which, all told, amount only to zero. The legislator himself, having no authority in the matter more than the private citizen, is void of all power, right, or authority to do this work of rest-day legislation; and the whole question of Sabbath observance must fall back upon the command of the Creator, who gives each individual the powers, and privileges, and life, and time to work out the eternal possibilities of character building according to God's own plan. Civil government can not manufacture character-making legislation. It can only defend the citizen in the exercise of those rights, the defense of which makes life more tolerable, and thereby favors pure character building.

The effort to enforce Sabbath laws, or to enforce a mere day of rest, can not from the foregoing facts be anything less than usurpation of authority, and is fully as presumptive as to attempt to regulate

a man in the reasonable use of his property or his brains; for his property is but the concrete storing up of his past time and brain power,—a mere transformation of time and brains into money or its equivalent. If legislators are importuned to pass and enforce Sunday laws, by those who fail to appreciate the principles herein set forth, their only reply can be: You have no authority to delegate to us in this matter, and we, having no authority more than yourselves, are powerless to act.

The Sunday laws that are on the statute-books of nearly every nation, have come down to us from a time when the doctrine of "the divine right of kings" was interpreted and enforced by those who had assumed to control the conscience and conduct of mankind in general. What shall be done with them? Let the tide of reform roll forward through proper education until men everywhere shall see what are the true relationships between man and man, and between man and God, and be prepared to oppose the enactment of any law that transcends human rights, or in any way interferes with freedom of worship, or assumes to compel the individual to do anything that the Creator has ordained that he shall voluntarily do or refrain from doing as best pleases himself.

It can not be denied that it would be very desirable to have the true Sabbath fully observed by all citizens. But why should men attempt to force their fellows into an outward form of obedience, when the Creator leaves every man free to obey or not, as he chooses?

God's rule is not a rule of force, but of love; and human wills may not rightfully undertake to exercise the authority of force in that realm of personal individuality where the Creator himself has refrained from force. But if the pall of darkness must again obscure earth's declining sun, ere it shall set, let the light be so made to shine that true hearts everywhere shall be drawn to its brightness, and be thus prepared for the glory that shall follow earth's night of woe and oppression.



TEMPERANCE



The Question of the Century

THE question of the century is not one of economics; and yet the question of the sanest economics is held within its compass. The question of the century is not one of jurisprudence; and yet the most vexing problems of lawmaking and judicial interpretation enter into its immediate and ultimate solution. The question of the century is not what the newspapers call "conservation;" and yet it is a thousandfold more vital to our nation's life than the rebuilding of waste places, or the conservation of our leaping streams and towering trees.

The question of the century, ladies and gentlemen, embraces all economics, touches all law, and deals with the loftiest type of conservation for which statesmen ever planned, and of which philosophers ever dreamed. It is vibrant with the very music of the spheres; it stirs with the heart-beats of the truest humanity; it blazes with the altar-fires of everlasting truth; it is luminous with reason, radiant with hope, and fairly glorious with the conquering principles of eternal right, that shall live until the stars have ceased to twinkle and the sun has ceased to shine.

Conservation

The great question of the century is our country's conservation, not of her streams and her trees, but of her children. The burning question of the day is, How long shall the flag of the free throw its protection around a business that can only prosper by the downfall of the nation's citizenship; how long, for the yellow glare of the "gold that leads to bewilder and dazzles to blind," shall that flag, bought with the blood of our fathers, and secured by the loyal prowess of their sons, wave its folds over the legalized saloon,—the saloon that is the

trysting-place of anarchy, the hotbed of crime, the companion of the brothel, and the gateway to hell?

All the revenues from our tariff, all the nation's wealth and international glory, and all the development of our resources that can come from the startling genius of man, can not require the treasury of our country, nor the ranks of our manhood, for the horrible losses that come from the legalized saloon. Think of it, you who charge us with undue excitement over the tragic dénouement of a sentimental drama; think of it, you who ask for facts instead of fiction, and for force instead of fancy's "fitful dream;" think of it, you who promise Utopian deliverance through railroad regulation and tariff legislation; think of it, if you are not lost to all reason and blind to all truth: "The net earnings of all the railroads in America will not pay the nation's drink bill for sixty days;" while the liquor problem, even from a commercial standpoint, is seven times as large as the question of the nation's tariff! The senses reel and stagger over the proved findings of statistics that in America seven hundred twenty thousand lives go out every year because of the direct or indirect influence of alcohol. Even the commercial productiveness is cut off thirteen billion dollars by the depleting appetites of twenty-three million regular drinkers and the untimely deaths of these seven hundred twenty thousand citizens. This tragedy every year, to say nothing of the moral debauchery of the millions who plot and scheme for this unspeakable "dominion of iniquity"!

Above all the horrible names that tower in their bloody blackness over the bones of man and the cemeteries of time, stands the loathsome figure of the Mongol king, who marked the march of his

progress and his prowess by pyramids of human skulls. Secure in his revolting infamy and isolation, unrivaled even by Caligula of old or Leopold of modern times, this Asiatic monster dips his spear afresh in human blood, and writes his name highest among the ancients in pandemonium's black hall of fame. But, like another Jenghiz Khan, without one gleam of conscience to restrain, and without one bright spot in all its haunting history, stands the horrible form of the legalized saloon, building its own pyramid of human skulls; crowding our asylums; fighting our churches; debauching our government; blighting our homes; and throwing over the hearts and hopes of millions of women and children a pall of cruel and unending night.

Convicted

In the presence of these appalling facts we are forced to the inevitable conclusion that Uncle Sam stands convicted to-day before the bar of reason as the most gigantic illustration of monumental inconsistency among all the nations of the earth. In his attitude toward humanity at large and his own children at home, he mingles more of "kingly kindness" and consuming cruelty than mortal man can understand, or statesmen dare explain. Let pestilence sweep some distant shore, and the American government backs the Red Cross evangelists on their errands of human deliverance; let famine, with all its horrors, fall upon China or southern Russia, where —

"On pallet of straw age rests its head,
And blue-lipped children cry for bread,"

and the prows of our grain ships part the waters as fast as steam makes possible, bearing bread to the starving and comfort to the dying. In our own land, where yellow fever threatens or the great white plague is eating away the hopes and happiness of thousands, our government votes millions of dollars to stamp out death-dealing disease. And yet, for the sake of so much "hush money," paid cash in hand, our government deliberately sells the privilege to kill her own chil-

dren — sells it while looking with stony stare into the millions of hearts it will crush, and into the millions of homes whose portals it will darken. And, to cap the climax, not content with the sickening paternalism of shame, our government offers a monumental insult to her own children by going into States and communities where sovereign decency has driven out the saloon, and encouraging the violation of law,—encouraging it by allowing the shipment of liquor into territory that has voted to be free, and by saying to the lawless venders in these same communities: "Pay me for my internal revenue license, and I will shut my eyes while you and your home authorities fight it out."

There Is a Remedy

Ladies and gentlemen, how shall we deal with this colossal crime of all the ages? Is there a remedy for it? I answer, Yes; and I submit to you that the remedy is nation-wide prohibition, and that the first step toward its realization is State-wide prohibition. And the remedy will come, when our political leaders shall become our moral leaders as well, and when every man shall wrap a regnant conscience around a spotless ballot, and fight back every cringing coward and every shameful compromise in the conquering battle for a stainless flag!

Sentiment

They tell us that ours is a battle waged by sentimentalists. Ah, intrepid knights in the holiest chivalry the world has ever seen, remember that "sentiment has shot every gun that has spouted fire in the name of liberty, and nerved every arm that ever struck in the name of truth and justice." It was sentiment that bathed Marathon and Plataea in blood; it was sentiment that gave Sparta her living walls; it was sentiment that rang the Liberty Bell and fired the shot at Lexington; it was sentiment that bared every loyal breast that marched from Bull Run to Appomattox — whether standing bravely with McClellan and Grant, or spilling the blood of heroes in

the cause for which Robert E. Lee fought and "Stonewall" Jackson fell!

Then, my friends, in the settlement of this great question of the century, let us call ourselves and our compatriots into a new baptism of sentiment that will nerve our arms to labor and fill our souls with fire and song. Let us remember that each local victory and defeat is but a passing battle in a mighty war,—a war with ultimate victory as the beckoning star in the sky of our purpose and our dreams. Let us remember that extermination and not regulation is the one solution of this towering question of the century; that the regulation of a den of rattlesnakes would be an easy task compared with the regulation or the reformation of the treacherous saloon.

The ax must be laid at the root of the tree. "On to Washington!" is the cry of the conquering army.

The national conscience is already awakening; the citadel of King Alcohol is already trembling, and the victory is no longer like the distant twinkle of the morning star, but like the radiant glow of the coming morn.

This is not an optimistic idealism devoutly to be wished for, but too unnatural to be attained; it is not the visionary flight of a baseless poetic fancy; it is not the rose-tinted coloring of a vain Utopian dream: it is a glorious possibility. And it will be a more glorious reality when every woman is true to the "heavenly vision," and every American citizen is a freeman and a king.—*Oration Winning First Prize in National Intercollegiate Contest, Atlantic City, July 9, 1912, by Frank Wideman.*

Figures Say Prohibition Prohibits

LIQUOR dealers are not finding fault with prohibition because it does not prohibit. They are organizing and fighting prohibition because it does prohibit. There is nothing in the statement which is often heard that more liquor is consumed in dry than in wet territory. No class of men understand the fallacy of

this declaration better than those who are engaged in the liquor business.

The year-book of the United States Brewers' Association for 1911 gives a table of statistics showing the number of gallons of intoxicating liquors of all kinds used in each State and Territory of the United States. It is easy to group these States and determine if as much liquor is used per capita in prohibition States as in saloon States. In the prohibition States of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maine, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Tennessee, the average per capita used in 1910 was 1.35 gallons. It must be remembered that at that time Alabama was a prohibition State.

Compare this with the gallons per capita used in some of the liquor States. In New York the per capita was 45.35 gallons; in New Jersey it was 39.87 gallons; in Illinois, 39.13; in Pennsylvania, nearly 32 gallons; in Wisconsin, where beer is alleged to make cities famous, the amount per capita was more than 64 gallons. All told, the average in the saloon States per capita was 25.23 gallons. Note once more the comparison with prohibition States, where it was 1.35 gallons per capita. In the face of these figures published in the brewers' year-book, what reason is there in the cry that prohibition does not prohibit?—*The American Issue, July, 1912.*

"An Injustice"

THE Chemistry Bureau of the Department of Agriculture recently prosecuted a liquor firm for "misbranding" gin, labeled as "Highly recommended for the kidneys and bladder."

The *Liquor Dealer* calls this effort to protect our citizenship from alcoholic poisons an "injustice"! An injustice to whom? Not to society, certainly. It seems that to the liquor mind society has absolutely no rights, and only exists to be exploited by the liquor gang. The gall of these liquor spouters is truly amazing.—*American Issue.*

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